

Assembly In Philippines Sets Election For Feb. 7

By John Burgess
Washington Post Service

MANTILA — The proposal by President Ferdinand E. Marcos for an early presidential election in the Philippines passed another hurdle Tuesday when the National Assembly approved a bill setting the polling date for Feb. 7.

Many analysts in Manila, however, continued to suggest that the idea was only a political maneuver by Mr. Marcos and that the election might never take place.

In Tuesday's debate, opposition members of the assembly tried three times to move the polling date back to give their camp more time to organize. But the assembly, dominated by Mr. Marcos's New Society Party, passed the bill, 77 to 41.

Opposition members said they would go to the Supreme Court to challenge the legality of the election. They contend it is unconstitutional because Mr. Marcos has said he will not leave office before the voting takes place.

Facing increasing pressure from domestic opponents and the U.S. government, Mr. Marcos called earlier this month for the special election. His current term does not expire until 1987.

The Philippines' diverse opposition parties have condemned the election as illegal while welcoming it as a chance to topple Mr. Marcos, who has been in power since 1965.

But they have been unable to decide on a single ticket to oppose him and avoid splitting the vote.

The major contenders now are Salvador H. Laurel, head of the country's largest coalition of opposition parties, and Corason Aquino, wife of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the assassinated opposition leader.

Conflicting statements by Mr. Marcos on the mechanics and scope of the election have led many observers in Manila to question his intentions.

In a meeting with reporters Tuesday, Mr. Laurel suggested that if he and Mrs. Aquino were able to reach an agreement to run together, Mr. Marcos might feel threatened and allow the Supreme Court to nullify the election plan as unconstitutional.

Members of the National Unification Committee, an opposition umbrella group charged with assuring that there is a single opposition ticket, called Tuesday for a convention to be held no later than Dec. 9 if current negotiations to agree on the ticket fail.

■ Marcos Would Meet Rebels
Mr. Marcos has declared that he is willing to meet with Communist rebel leaders to ensure a peaceful election. The Associated Press quoted The Washington Times as reporting Tuesday.

The newspaper quoted President Marcos as saying in an interview Monday that he was trying to assure "honest, nonviolent elections."

Mr. Marcos also reportedly said that he had sent messages to rebel leaders through an underground intelligence network and that he would intensify such efforts in the next few weeks.



Nursery school children sing songs in the village of Kavita.

For India's Poorest, the Self-Help Way

Volunteers Train Them to Plant, Seek Government Aid

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service

UDAIPUR, India — In front of a mud hut, a dozen small children sat on the dusty ground and sang songs. From such innocent beginnings comes hope of progress for some of the poorest families in India.

An illiterate woman with a golden hoop in her nose led everyone in a song about a man with a mustache riding a horse cart into town. The children clapped their hands and giggled.

The scene was a "nursery school" in Kavita, a village in the scrubby mountains of Rajasthan in northern India. The teacher, Harku Bai, did not know her own age but was certain of one thing.

"It's a good activity for these children," she said. "Before this school started, the kids would roam around in the dirt and get sick all the time. Here they can learn the importance of a good education."

The nursery school is part of an experiment to improve the lives of descendants of aboriginal tribespeople in a land where maharajas once led glittering hunting parties in search of wild boar, deer, bears and tigers.

In the old days, peasants were employed by maharajas to make a cluttering noise to flush out the game for the hunters. Today the hunting grounds have largely been stripped of trees by peasants in search of timber and firewood.

The Indian authorities lately have given more attention to the estimated 50 million "tribals" scattered across the country. But some say the most interesting work is being done by groups outside the government.

There are thousands of such nongovernmental groups in India, but perhaps only a hundred that reach large numbers of people, according to experts.

Here in Udaipur, the voluntary work is run by a group called Seva Mandir, which means Temple of Service. It was founded in 1966 by Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta, an elder statesman who had served as a minister when the area was run by Rajput princes.

Dr. Mehta died this year, but his concept of self-help thrives. His organization has 100 full-time employees and an annual budget of nearly \$400,000, mostly derived from its endowment and voluntary contributions.

"These people are at the bottom of the social and economic ladder," said Ajay Mehta, the founder's 30-year-old grandson. "Giving people an education at this stage can provide just the incentive to persevere with their own problems."

This fall, life in this part of Rajasthan has been especially difficult. The monsoons started out heavy last summer but then abruptly dried up, causing the loss of 90 percent of the harvest. Had it not been for a freak rainstorm two weeks ago, the people here would be without drinking water or fodder for their cattle.

As it is, they have had to turn to hard labor. In blazing maroon and yellow saris, women work languidly in the sun, carrying gravel and rock to upgrade the roads. They earn less than a dollar a day.

According to Mr. Mehta, the problem here is not necessarily a lack of government programs, but the inability of poor and illiterate people to take advantage of them.

So Seva Mandir, the volunteer group, has set up training workshops. In some workshops, women from remote hamlets were brought in to become nursery school teachers. In others, village people learned carpentry, weaving, crafts and blacksmithing.

The most striking effect was the way local residents began to solve their problems and to plan for themselves.

In one example, the government launched a program to distribute healthy, purebred chickens to rural areas. The villagers discovered that although the chickens produced more eggs, they were more expensive to feed and to keep healthy.

With help from Seva Mandir, the villagers won government support for a program to breed local birds.

There also have been hardships that demonstrate how close the villages live to the edge of disaster. A woman in the village of Kavita explained how an unscrupulous egg collector underpaid her for eggs.

Because the woman is illiterate, she did not realize she was being cheated until it was too late. When her loan for the chickens fell due, she had to sell her property and family jewelry. Today, she said, she lives under a tree.

Seva Mandir's philosophy is that training would prevent many such misfortunes. In addition to running the workshops, it prints a monthly "newspaper" which is actually a big poster hung on mud structures in scores of villages and hamlets.

Another effort undertaken in Udaipur and elsewhere is the planting of new forests in hills long since denuded by tribespeople. The people have been driven farther and farther into remote areas by the process of development.

Volunteers at Seva Mandir took satisfaction in a recent declaration by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that the drive to rescue the so-called wastelands must be "people-based."

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In Geneva's Afterglow, The 2 Germanys Hope For a Rapprochement

By William Drozdzial
Washington Post Service

BONN — East and West Germany seem poised to explore a new rapprochement as one of the early repercussions of President Ronald Reagan's "fresh start" in relations with Moscow achieved at the Geneva summit meeting, according to diplomats and government officials.

The extended discussions in Geneva have produced a sense of keen anticipation here that the two Germanys may soon proceed with plans for closer cooperation that could not be sustained in a protracted climate of hostility between Moscow and Washington.

Diplomats in Bonn and East Berlin have said that there are strong indications that Erich Honecker may make the first visit to West Germany by an East German head of state. Under pressure from Moscow, Mr. Honecker last year had to postpone a long-awaited trip to Bonn and his birthplace in the Saarland.

The Kremlin ostensibly objected to the timing of the visit, which would have served as a touchstone of continuing détente between the two German states while U.S.-Soviet contacts were still frozen.

But the renewal of superpower dialogue under a new, more vigorous Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, has been perceived widely as a "green light" for Mr. Honecker to continue his pursuit of closer contacts with West Germany.

Some commentators have warned that Bonn's intention to announce a decision by year's end on participation in Mr. Reagan's space-based defense system, the Strategic Defense Initiative, could be seized upon by hostile political forces in Moscow and East Berlin as a pretext to block the Honecker trip to West Germany.

While Chancellor Helmut Kohl would like to show that Bonn can demonstrate full allegiance to Washington and the Western alliance without jeopardizing the prospect of improved ties with East Berlin, he may not be able to offer Mr. Honecker sufficient political or economic incentives to overcome lingering resistance in Moscow.

Foreign Ministry officials in Bonn said that if Mr. Honecker came to West Germany soon he could not expect much more than token agreements to promote environmental cooperation and cultural exchanges.

Mr. Honecker's own expectations of the impact of a trip to West Germany must be minor because

he knows that the ruling coalition in Bonn is opposed to meeting East Germany's primary demand for the recognition of separate nationality, the officials said.

But although no protocol arrangements have been finalized, Mr. Kohl said after the summit meeting that he assumed Mr. Honecker's visit would take place "in the very near future."

In East Berlin, an unexpected reshuffle last weekend of the ruling Politburo appeared to strengthen Mr. Honecker's support for new initiatives with the West. Konrad Naumann, an outspoken hard-liner opposed to closer economic links with Bonn, was dropped from the 19-man board, and three younger allies of the East German leader were promoted.

Diplomats in East Berlin said that Mr. Honecker, 73, wanted to establish greater political legitimacy for his government, as well as economic benefits for his people, by broadening channels of cooperation with the West.

He has often justified his policy of rapprochement with Bonn, at the risk of some displeasure in Moscow, by stressing that the smaller states in Central Europe must contribute in their own ways to the reconstruction of East-West détente.

West Germany's opposition Social Democrats have become increasingly attracted to a potential breakthrough in relations through the recognition of a separate East German nationality, in return for an easing of border restrictions and travel rights between the two Germanys.

But Mr. Kohl, while eager to improve relations with East Germany, has resisted this notion as a violation of the preamble to the West German Constitution, which upholds the notion of a reunification of the German people.

In the past, Bonn has extracted concessions from East Berlin that relaxed travel restrictions for elderly East Germans by offering hundreds of millions of dollars in guaranteed loans. East Germany's credit needs have eased considerably in the past year, however, reducing Bonn's leverage.

■ Husak Visits East Germany
Gustav Husak, Czechoslovakia's Communist Party leader, arrived Tuesday in East Germany for a "friendly visit" and talks with Mr. Honecker, said the official news agency ADN. The agency, monitored by The Associated Press in Berlin, said the visit was part of regular yearly contacts between the two leaders.

Ex-French Defense Minister Asserts He Did Not Order Attack on Ship

Reuters

PARIS — Charles Hernu, France's former defense minister, said that he had not ordered the attack on the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior, and did not believe his secret service chief, Admiral Pierre Lacoste, had given any such command.

The interview Monday on French radio was his first public comment on the matter since he was forced to resign in September. Mr. Hernu said he had ordered surveillance of the Greenpeace ship

to stop it disrupting French nuclear tests in the South Pacific. "The president was not informed," he said, "nor was the prime minister."

Prime Minister Laurent Fabius accused Mr. Hernu and Admiral Lacoste, who was later dismissed, of concealing the truth about the ship's sinking by French secret agents in New Zealand in July.

"I consider that measures taken to safeguard the nuclear tests were normal, and they had been taken by my predecessors for more than 10 years," Mr. Hernu said.

Apparently would run out of easily liquidated foreign reserves within a few years. Whether they can avoid that, bankers say, depends largely on oil prices and output in the years ahead.

Even if there is no need to borrow now, some businessmen and bankers here argue that the government should do so to avoid further declines in government spending. The government could borrow at home by selling some sort of bonds or other debt instruments, suggested Mr. Al-Dukheil, the banker.

Such borrowing, he said, would attract private Saudi funds now held overseas and help establish the habit of investing at home.

Both Mr. Al-Dukheil and Mr. Olayan, the businessman, want the government to foster a more efficient stock market to help Saudi companies raise money. Mr. Olayan also said the government should end a ban on using mortgages as collateral.

Perhaps more important, many bankers say, is the need to adapt the largely religious legal system so that there are clear methods for resolving lending and other commercial disputes. At present, many bankers say the situation is so confused that they dare lend only to their very best customers, those who generally do not need extra cash.

TOMORROW: Banks take a battering under Saudi Arabia's Islamic law.

WORLD BRIEFS

Ex-Liberian Commander Put on Trial

LONDON (AP) — The former commander of the Liberian army is being tried in Monrovia charged with conspiracy, mutiny and sedition in the coup attempt that failed two weeks ago, the Liberian government said Tuesday.

A telex sent to The Associated Press in London by Patrick E. Kugheh, press secretary to the Liberian head of state, Major General Samuel K. Doe, said General Morris Zaza went on trial Monday before a special military tribunal.

General Zaza, whose dismissal was announced Nov. 14, two days after the coup failed, had been appointed to command the army in 1983 by Brigadier General Thomas Quiwonkpa, the fugitive who led the coup attempt and who was killed after it was crushed, the telex said.

Leaders of 2 Koreas Reportedly Met

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea and President Kim Il Sung of North Korea held a secret meeting this month aimed at improving relations between the two countries, The Washington Times reported Tuesday.

The paper, quoting unidentified sources, said that the two leaders met Nov. 9 at Panmunjom, the truce village in the demilitarized zone between the countries. If the reports are accurate, the meeting would be the first between leaders of North and South Korea since the peninsula was divided in 1945.

But Young Mo Ahn, senior press attaché in the South Korean Embassy in Washington, said that officials in Seoul had denied the report. "The story [is] based on rumors and speculation," he told The Associated Press.

Commons Opens Debate of Ulster Pact

LONDON (Reuters) — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher urged Parliament on Tuesday to ratify the British-Irish agreement on Northern Ireland, telling Loyalists in the province it did not foreshadow eventual union with the Irish Republic.

Opening a two-day debate in the House of Commons on the pact she signed with Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald on Nov. 15, Mrs. Thatcher said: "The agreement does not affect the status of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom. It does not set us on some imagined slippery slope to Irish unity."

The motion to ratify the accord, which for the first time gives Dublin a voice in the affairs of British-ruled Northern Ireland, was certain to win an overwhelming majority among the 650 members of the Commons.

Margaret Thatcher

Italian Unions Accept Pay Raise Plan

ROME (Reuters) — Italy's main trade unions have agreed to a new method of calculating wage increases for public workers but the plan seems unlikely to be accepted by private employers.

The formula, agreed to Monday night by the three confederations and Public Administration Minister Remo Gaspari, would replace the sliding scale system due to end in January. That system gives cost of living adjustments quarterly.

Unions estimate that the formula would make about 740,000 lire (\$427) a month of an average salary inflation proof compared with only 600,000 lire under proposals put by the private employers' association, Confindustria. The formula offers some cost-saving advantages, since wages would be adjusted twice a year instead of quarterly.

Report Warns Pentagon on Spending

WASHINGTON (WP) — Declining congressional support for arms spending will force the Defense Department to choose by 1990 between an unprepared military and a much smaller force, a panel of retired U.S. military leaders has concluded after a yearlong study.

Even if Congress grants annual military spending increases of 1.5 percent above inflation, the panel said, three major divisions, six tactical fighter wings and three carrier battle groups will have to be cut by the end of the decade to maintain current levels of readiness. Nonnuclear forces could shrink by as much as one-third.

"The more likely tendency, should defense spending be constrained, will be to retain force structure and decrease readiness," the panel said in a report published Monday by Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies. But that might reduce preparedness to the levels of the late 1970s, making the military "a hollow force," the report warned.

Wife of Sakharov Returns to Moscow

MOSCOW (AP) — Andrei D. Sakharov's wife, Yelena G. Bonner, returned to her Moscow home Tuesday from internal exile in the closed city of Gorki in preparation for her planned visit to Italy for medical treatment.

Guards barred foreign reporters from her apartment but confirmed that she was inside. Mrs. Bonner said that she expected to be in Italy on Monday. Her exact travel plans are not known.

Earlier this month, Mrs. Bonner, 62, told relatives in the United States that she was being allowed to travel to Italy for treatment of eye and heart ailments. Her husband, the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize winner, has gone on longer strike at least three times to try to win permission for her to leave the country.

For the Record

The Polish government has released 15 political prisoners in recent days, raising the total freed this month under a "humanitarian initiative" to 125, the official newspaper Rzeczpospolita said Tuesday. (Reuters)

Nabbus, the largest town in the Israeli-occupied territories, is to be the first major West Bank town to have a Palestinian mayor since direct Israeli military administration was set up there three and a half years ago, the Israeli administration announced Tuesday. (AP)

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi left Tuesday on a one-day trip to Vietnam, the first by an Indian leader in more than 30 years, to discuss possible expansion of trade and economic ties. (UPI)

Soviet and Chinese foreign ministry officials have signed a consular agreement after two weeks of talks in Moscow, the official Soviet news agency Tass said Tuesday. (Reuters)

West German Ministry Is Screening Third World Trainees for AIDS Virus

BONN — All people from the developing countries who work as trainees for West German companies are undergoing mandatory tests for AIDS as a condition of their stay in West Germany, the Ministry of Economic Cooperation said.

A spokesman, Manfred Ohlender, said Monday that such apprentices began to be tested for the AIDS virus "in early summer," but that they had undergone mandatory tests for grave infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis, since the early 1960s.

Of hundreds who have undergone examinations to date, nine "from some African nations" tested positive for AIDS antibodies and were sent back to their homelands, he said in a telephone interview. "The tests for acquired immune deficiency syndrome are designed to avoid health danger to people with whom they work and to the private German families with whom they usually live," he said.

AIDS is a usually fatal disease that destroys the body's defenses against illness. First recognized in 1981, it is believed to be common in parts of tropical Africa.

A spokesman for the Federal Health Ministry said Monday that other nationals of developing countries, such as university students, are not required to undergo AIDS tests to stay in West Germany.

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Long Oil Glut Forces Saudi Arabia Into Painful Retrenchment

(Continued from Page 1)
truck dispatcher who rose to become one of the kingdom's most successful businessmen, expressed similar optimism. "From here on," he said, "I think we will see normal growth" in the economy, which he defined as an inflation-adjusted rate of 2.5 to 4 percent a year. From 1975 through 1981, the economy raced ahead at an average of about 10 percent a year; during the past four years, it has shrunk by a total of more than 10 percent.

For all their calm confidence, Sheikh Abalkhalil and other Saudi officials have a delicate task in trying to wind the economy down to a sustainable level without bankrupting too many businessmen and damaging the royal family's credibility.

The drop in oil revenue by about 75 percent during the past four years has left far less money for soothing over discontent, however much the economic pain has been concentrated on foreign workers.

At home, impatience for economic growth is growing among bankers and businessmen. "We can't just sit down and say time will take care of it," warned Abdulaziz M. Al-Dukheil, a leading Saudi banker and former deputy finance minister, who complained that some small companies were "notoriously driven to ruin."

Amid such anxiety, Saudi officials are trying to balance their desire to end deficit spending against calls for higher expenditure on projects that would help restore confidence among businessmen.

The government could perhaps fulfill both goals by borrowing money, but that would jolt the kingdom's financial conservatism and its religious aversion to paying interest, banned by Islam.

Both Sheikh Abalkhalil and Hamad al-Sayari, governor of the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency, or central bank, insisted that there was no need to borrow, in spite of belief among some bankers that it may be necessary eventually.

Part of the Saudi confidence comes from the rise in oil production to around 4 million barrels a day from a 20-year-low of slightly more than 2 million last summer, compared to a peak five years ago of about 10 million. Last summer's

drop in sales cut revenue so low that the Saudis finally decided to join other members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in offering discounts from official OPEC prices to attract more buyers.

Even so, the kingdom's goal of a government budget balanced at 20 billion riyals (\$55 billion) in the fiscal year ending next spring appears out of reach. A leading independent economist in Riyadh estimated that, even with spending far below the planned level, the budget would show a deficit of 30 billion to 50 billion riyals because of the drop in oil revenues.

Sheikh Abalkhalil, the finance minister, said it was too early to predict the budgetary outcome but that spending priorities were being changed "dramatically." He also said the current account, a broad measure of trade in goods and services plus certain transfer payments, would show a smaller deficit than last year's \$2 billion, which was exceeded only by that of the United States.

So far, the Saudis have coped with their deficits by cutting spending and by drawing on foreign reserves. Sheikh Abalkhalil declined to talk about how much money the government still has stowed away in foreign bank accounts and other investments, but close observers roughly estimate that the total is \$90 billion, down from a peak of \$150 billion in the early 1980s.

At the current rate, the Saudis

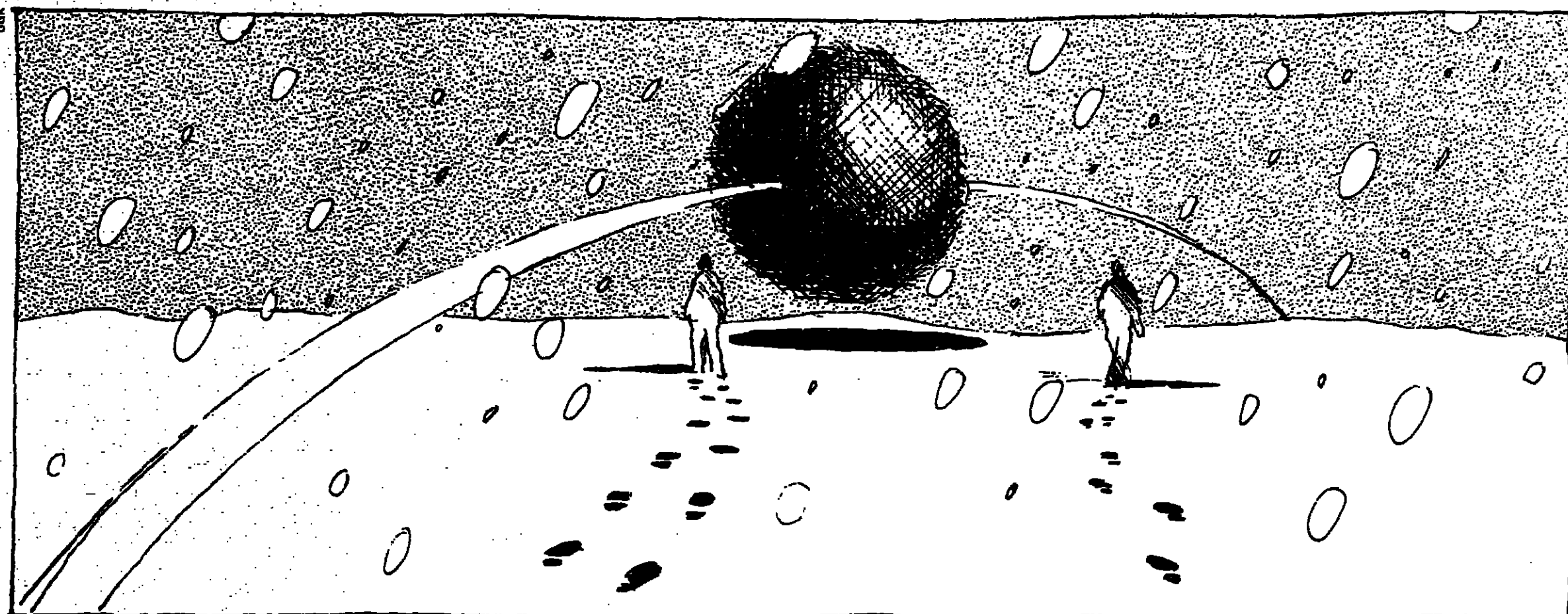
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Foreign Ministry Is Screaming
It Needs Trainers for AIDS



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Liverpool Backs Down, Balances Budget

By Michael Wise

LONDON — After backing down in a confrontation over money with the national Conservative government, leftist leaders of the northwestern port of Liverpool have begun trying to pull the city back from near-bankruptcy.

The city council's finance committee agreed Monday to a plan to balance the city budget, using an

expected multimillion-dollar loan from foreign bankers and money allocated for housing. The plan was approved Friday by the local branch of the opposition Labor Party, to which the leftist council members belong.

The dispute had threatened to deprive Liverpool of most municipal services and leave its 31,000 workers unpaid.

The council, defying efforts by

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government to curb spending, has spent £25 million (\$36 million) more in services than it budgeted this year.

Derek Hatton, the deputy council chairman and the most prominent member of the Militant Tendency, a Trotskyist faction of the Labor Party, had hoped to force a government bailout.

The government responded by

withholding £88 million in grants, and the Militants were sharply criticized by the Labor leader, Neil Kinnock. He warned they faced expulsion from the party.

The actions which are now being put into effect will reconcile the council's income and expenditure, said Tony Byrne, the finance committee chairman, after approval of the budget plan Monday.

Liverpool sought aid from foreign banks after Britain's Public Works Loan Board, which ordinarily lends to local authorities, denied further help to Liverpool because of its refusal to balance its budget. The banks were not identified.

Phillips & Drew, a London brokerage, said it was trying to arrange for a consortium of foreign banks to take over £30 million of Liverpool's contractual obligations.

Mr. Byrne said a major Swiss bank was involved but he refused to discuss details or identify participating institutions.

He appealed to the Department of the Environment, in charge of local finance, to approve the foreign aid. The department has been considering parliamentary legislation to remove the Militants.



Derek Hatton

Reagan Urged by 101 Congressmen Not to Help Insurgents in Angola

By Bernard Gwertzman

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A group of 101 congressmen have urged President Ronald Reagan not to provide covert aid to the rebels fighting against the Soviet-backed government in Angola.

The congressmen made the request Monday in a letter to the president. A copy of the letter was made public by Representative Howard Wolpe, a Michigan Democrat, who is chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa.

Mr. Wolpe also released copies of letters from the Organization of African Unity to Mr. Reagan and to leaders of Congress expressing concern about reports of imminent U.S. aid to the forces of Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the group, which is known by its Portuguese acronym of UNITA.

Mr. Wolpe has been in the forefront of congressional efforts to prevent the provision of aid to UNITA, either openly through congressional or secretly through the Central Intelligence Agency.

Mr. Reagan said Friday that the administration favored providing covert aid to the Savimbi forces and still opposed bills pending in Congress that would give them open aid worth \$27 million in humanitarian assistance and \$27 million in military aid.

Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said Monday that no final decisions had been made on a specific covert plan, but he confirmed that Mr. Reagan preferred covert aid.

The Angolan rebels have received most of their support from the South African government. The Angolan government receives aid from the Soviet Union, Cuba and other Soviet-bloc nations.

The letter signed by the congressmen said that any U.S. involvement in the Angolan conflict "whether direct or indirect, covert or overt, would damage our relations with governments throughout Africa and undermine fundamental U.S. policy objectives in southern Africa."

The representative also distributed a letter from David Rockefeller,

the retired chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank. In the letter, Mr. Rockefeller said that U.S. mediation efforts still had a chance to produce a political settlement in southern Africa, but that any aid to the rebels before the talks had run their course "would promote more confrontational and more direct involvement by the United States in the complex nexus of southern Africa."

Bonn Identifies Suspect In Blast at U.S. Store

FRANKFURT — West German police on Tuesday named a suspect wanted in connection with a car bomb explosion Sunday in a U.S. military shopping center parking lot that injured 35 persons mostly Americans.

A police spokesman said the suspect was a Moroccan, about 4 years old, who used a Moroccan passport when buying a used car nearby Gravenbruch the day before the car was used in the attack.

South Africa Business Joins Apartheid Fight

(Continued from Page 1) Afrikaners are having a revisionist influence that is working its way slowly through the National Party.

Hermann Gillmees, an Afrikaaner political scientist, calls them the "Boer puppies." Boer is the word for "farmer" by which the Afrikaners once described themselves in their derivative of the Dutch language.

But Mr. Gillmees says that despite the changes there is still a psychological gap. To the Afrikaner nationalists who control the government, business is still seen as

essentially the preserve of the English establishment and thus part of the traditional political opposition.

Mr. Botha has gone out of his way to woo the business community and involve it in government in a way that his rightist opponents regard as heretical. But when it comes to pressure and influence, the English businessmen are still

outsiders with limited leverage. Afrikaner businessmen have more political clout, but they are more reluctant to use it, especially when the government has its back

to the wall as it does now. They are aware that there is an element of ethnic disloyalty in joining in the public criticism.

Michael Spicer, a political analyst and public affairs adviser to Mr. Botha, thinks the gap is more than just ethnic. He also sees a cultural difference between government and business that is equally wide.

The National Party is not only tribal, Mr. Spicer says, it is also populist, with its roots among farmers and small-town lawyers who felt exploited by big business.

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Mubarak Joins in Blaming Libya for Hijacking

(Continued from Page 1)

Liberation Organization in 1973, has carried out a number of terrorist operations, including assassinations of moderate Palestinians.

He is now reported to be operating from Libya, although at earlier times in his career he has been sheltered by the civil regimes of both Syria and Iraq.

Asked Tuesday if Abu Nidal was behind the operation, Mr. Mubarak replied: "I know who was behind it, but I will not speak frankly on the subject. Everything in good time."

"They are Palestinians, but not from the PLO, he said. 'They belong to another faction that is against the PLO. One of their chiefs is in Tripoli now, in the Grand Hotel, room 401.'

Field Marshal Abdel-Halim Abu Ghazala, the defense minister,

asked earlier if Egypt had evidence that Libya was responsible for the hijacking, said: "We have some."

A commentary on state radio, reflecting official thought, directly accused Libya of funding and instigating the hijacking.

The prime piece of evidence cited by the Egyptians is a reported visit to the hijacked plane on the airport tarmac by the Libyan ambassador to Malta, who was then ordered to Tripoli.

Mr. Mubarak also said that after Egyptian officials learned of the hijacking, Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Meguid was instructed to call his counterpart in Tripoli, Ali Abdel-Saleh Treiki, to say the Egyptians knew Libya was responsible.

Mr. Treiki said, "We have nothing to do with this, I'll call you back in 15 minutes," according to Mr.

Mubarak, but did not call back. When the Egyptians tried to phone, no one answered.

At one point, Mr. Mubarak said: "We will never let them get away without being punished." Asked if he was prepared to go to war with Libya, he replied, "We shall leave that to circumstances."

"We are no warmongers, we are the opposite," he said. "If we adopt war it will be for the sake of peace."

According to the accounts of the commando raid given by both Mr. Mubarak and his defense minister, the Egyptian troops fired only seven shots as they stormed the plane — three at one hijacker, two at another and two that went wild.

"Not a single Egyptian bullet killed anybody," said Mr. Mubarak, meaning any passengers.

This version of events was at variance with the accounts of sur-

vivors, who described the commando shooting at the escaping passengers on the tarmac in confusion.

But there were questions about the conduct of the raid and the number of casualties in the opposition press. The newspaper E Shabab quoted Ibrahim Shukry, leader of the Socialist Labor Party as calling for a parliamentary investigation into the responsibility for assault on the plane.

■ U.S. Aided Commandos
The United States provided secret equipment to Egyptian commandos preparing to storm the hijacked jetliner Sunday, and offered to protect the commandos with warplanes from the Coral Sea air carrier, Pentagon officials said Monday, according to The Washington Post.

The Egyptian force was given what U.S. officials described as "technical support," including portable listening gear, that allowed the commandos to determine where the terrorists were located inside the Boeing 737.

The Coral Sea was ordered to have F-16 fighter bombers and E-2C command planes prepared for action if the Egyptian government requested help in protecting the C-130 transport planes carrying the commandos, Pentagon officials said. The Egyptians did not ask for help.

A U.S. official said the quick offer of U.S. military assistance was part of a "get tough" policy of President Ronald Reagan against terrorist attacks, with the United States prepared to help friendly governments requesting aid against terrorists.

Pentagon officials added, however, that the offer of assistance did not extend to bombing missions against Libyan forces if any military action had been taken against Egypt during the hijacking crisis.

Begin Adviser Tied to U.S. Spy Case

(Continued from Page 1)

that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was investigating him, he contacted an Israeli official in Washington and said, "The FBI is on to me." According to these sources, the response from the Israeli official was to the effect, "If you shake your surveillance, we'll see what we can do."

The man named as Mr. Pollard's contact in the stories circulating in Israel was not in Washington last week and never served in the Israeli Embassy there.

The man identified as Mr. Pollard's contact worked for Mr. Begin and Mr. Shamir on security matters. According to the story circulating in Israel, his alleged relationship with Mr. Pollard began several years ago when the American visited Israel.

U.S. officials stressed that it is unclear whether top officials of the

Israeli government knew about any espionage activities in the United States or whether it was an unauthorized operation conducted at lower levels.

In Jerusalem, senior Israeli officials told a Washington Post correspondent, William Claiborne, that the country's political leadership had no knowledge of a spying operation. They said that if secret U.S. documents were accepted or purchased, it was done by persons acting contrary to longstanding official Israeli government policy.

These statements came against a background of growing concern that the incident could have serious adverse consequences for U.S.-Israeli relations. The sources here said the State Department had told the Peres government that the United States expects an explanation of what happened before the end of this week.

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U.S. Pacifists Try 'New Way of Thinking'

By Jay Mathews
Washington Post Service

PALO ALTO, California — It was late 1983, and the small band of affluent, well-educated couples from the Silicon Valley area of this state thought they had found a way to end war.

First, it needed a road test. How about Iowa? A half-dozen of them, including some of the Valley's finest minds, piled into a van headed for Des Moines. Today the group, "Beyond War — A New Way of Thinking," has 400 activists and a growing mailing list of 1,400 other supporters in Iowa alone. It has taken root in 12 states beyond California and has planted organizational seeds in 14 others.

Its technological virtuosity is better known in some foreign capitals than at home. Last year it established a San Francisco-to-Moscow "space bridge" satellite link to give its Beyond War Award to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, which also won the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize.

The group is spending \$750,000 on an eight-satellite hookup Dec. 14 to present this year's award to the leaders of Mexico, Argentina, Sweden, Greece, India and the former leader of Tanzania for spearheading the Five Continents Peace Initiative, a Third World plea for superpower conciliation.

Yet it is the group's organizing techniques and philosophy, rather than its love of electronic extravaganzas, that are behind its rapid spread. Beyond War members decline to attack the usual targets of the anti-war, anti-nuclear movement. In their view, changing the way people think about international conflict is the crucial issue, not the MX missile, the Strategic Defense Initiative, or the SS-20 missile.

Arms-control talks and the recent Geneva summit talks are fine, members argue, but they believe that the nature of such tools of destruction should be decided by international tribunals rather than by hostile governments jockeying for position.

The doctrine of peaceful resolution of conflicts, from marital spats to thermonuclear

standoff, is carried from one living-room meeting to the next, producing puzzlement, consternation and skepticism.

But the message-bearers, including several who were millionaires before their 40s, are often so personally impressive, and their pitch so free of the slogans of partisan politics and the mainstream anti-war movement, that converts are

Members decline to attack the usual targets of the anti-war, anti-nuclear movement: the MX missile, the Strategic Defense Initiative, the SS-20 missile.

steadily pouring in, each willing to spread the message a little farther.

"I wake up every day thinking it is in some ways a very fragile process," Richard Rathbun, the group's president, said of its growth. "There's been a fantastic expansion, but it's too early to tell" whether it will continue.

Attacking thought processes, rather than government policies, avoids the frustration of the protester "who demonstrates for months to stop the placement of Pershings in Europe and then finds they are placed there anyway," said Craig Ritchey, an attorney and former White House fellow who coordinates the movement in San Francisco.

He said Beyond War's political approach allowed him and other members to visit Grand Forks Air Base in North Dakota and discuss their views with officers there.

An officer Mr. Ritchey knew from his Washington days arranged the session. Mr. Ritchey said the Air Force officers "felt they were after the same thing we were. They felt the way to keep these weapons from being used was to make sure ours were well-maintained and ready to go."

In every presentation, Beyond War members lean heavily on a notion of social change developed by a former Stanford University communications professor, Everett M. Rogers. "When approximately 5 percent of a population adopts a new idea it becomes 'embedded,'" says one of the group's pamphlets. "When the new idea is accepted by 20 percent of the people, it is said to be 'unstoppable.'"

Beyond War attempts to demonstrate the overwhelming need for change with its trademark "BB drop." A speaker drops one BB pellet — used in a compressed-air gun — into a metal canister to represent all the firepower used in World War II. Then, to represent all the firepower in today's nuclear arsenals, he drops 6,000 BBs into the canister. The long, deafening rattle often leaves listeners shaken.

Since 1983, Beyond War has grown from 60 to 400 full-time volunteers, many of them couples in mid-career who have taken leaves of absence or sold stock to support themselves. Several of the California couples have moved to other states. The group estimates that it has at least 8,000 active supporters and many more on its mailing list.

The group's creed was developed when its core members were part of a "human potential" organization called Creative Initiative.

"I will resolve conflict," it says. "I will not use violence. I will not preoccupy myself with an enemy. I will maintain a spirit of good will. I will work together with others to build a world beyond war."

Some veterans of the anti-war movement express doubt about Beyond War, particularly its upper-income leadership and its disdain for confrontation politics. "I'm suspicious of any group that takes a nonconfrontational position," said David McReynolds of War Resisters League, which is based in New York.

Don Wurtz, Beyond War's treasurer, said the group raised \$2.1 million to support its activities in the last fiscal year. He estimates that it will raise more than \$3 million this year.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Justice Brennan's Defense of Dissent

Potter Stewart, a retired Supreme Court justice, called dissenting opinions issued by the court "subversive literature." The late Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, himself nicknamed "The Great Dissenter," called them "useless and undesirable."

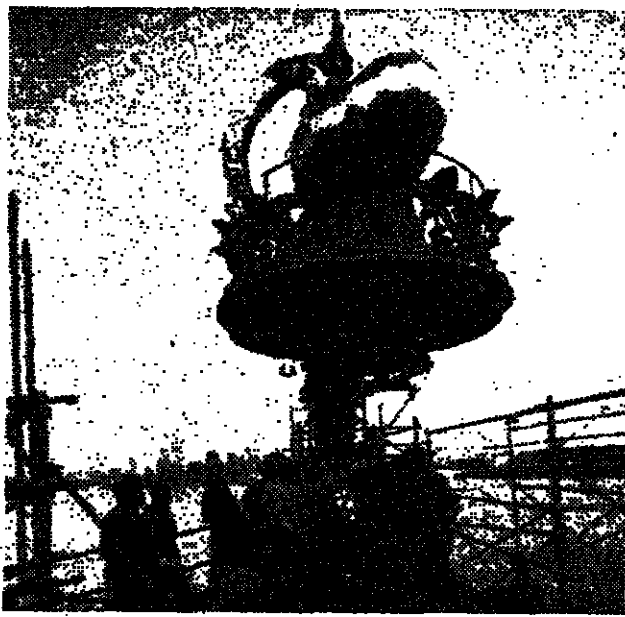
These comments reflect a widely held view that dissents lessen the court's prestige. But Justice William J. Brennan Jr. dissents about dissents.

In recent years, Justice Brennan, 79, who recently called the Reagan administration's view of the constitution "little more than arrogance cloaked as humility," has been issuing dissenting opinions more than 60 times a year. He says dissents can limit the sweep of majority opinions and give "practical guidance" to those who want to circumvent them.

Justice Brennan calls some dissents "prophetic," such as Justice John Marshall Harlan's lone dissent in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* in 1896, a ruling that upheld "separate but equal" facilities for whites and blacks. That dissent became the majority view nearly 60 years later, in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, when the court held that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional.

Short Takes

Despite recent problems with defections, the Reagan administration has concluded that its predecessors placed too much emphasis on the gathering of intelligence by satellites, electronic listening posts and high-flying airplanes. Accordingly, the Central Intelligence Agency is now expanding traditional espionage, or "human intelligence" as the professionals call it. David F. Durenberger, the Minnesota Republican who is chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said, "We can listen all we want to the Nicaraguan traffic, but we don't know what's going on in the heads of the Sandinistas because we don't have anyone" in the Nicaraguan government.



BEACON OF LIBERTY — The 2.5-ton gilded lamp of the Statue of Liberty has been reassembled and hoisted above New York Harbor. The torch, removed for renovation, will be lighted for the statue's centennial in July.

The 27-year effort to build a nationwide interstate highway system is nearing completion, with most of the 42,500-mile (69,000-kilometer) system open to traffic and most of the remaining gaps under construction or in the design stage. But the demand for funds — for bridges, tunnels, connecting roads — persists. Most revenue for the work comes from the federal gasoline tax, which was raised in 1982 from 4 cents to 9 cents a gallon (3.78 liters). Projects eligible for federal aid over the next 10 years would require \$212 billion, but current highway taxes will raise only \$124 billion during that time.

Eighteen states now have lotteries. Such lotteries brought in a total of \$5.2 billion in 1983. Representative Mario Biaggi, a Democrat from New York City, says a national lottery could raise up to \$18 billion a year.

Nebraska's Kerrey Decides Not to Run

Nebraska's Robert Kerrey is a

Democratic governor in a traditionally Republican state. At 47, a winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor who became a distance runner despite having lost a leg in Vietnam, he has acquired extra glamour through his close friendship with Debra Winger, the film actress. But he has decided not to run again when his term expires in two years.

Mr. Kerrey's private explanation is the same as the public one: "It is time for me to move on to a future different from being a career politician," he said. "In my heart there is lacking the necessary call for 'four more years.'"

The governor did not say what his future might hold. John Cavanaugh, a former Democratic congressman, said: "This takes a lot of the fun out of the political scene. Bob Kerrey was going to be a national figure, and Nebraska Democrats in general don't play on the national stage, at least not since William Jennings Bryan was last nominated for president, back in 1908."

— Compiled by ARTHUR HIGBEE

E. Morante, Author, 73, Dies in Italy

By Herbert Mitgang
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Elsa Morante, 73, the Italian author whose novels won two of her country's highest awards, the Viareggio and Strega prizes, died of a heart attack Monday in a clinic in Rome.

Miss Morante, a Roman of Sicilian descent, showed compassion through her characters for people living in the underground culture of Rome.

In one of her most ambitious works, "History of a Novel," published in the United States in 1977, Miss Morante created a nightmare landscape of Rome between 1941 and 1947 that resembled the neorealist films of the postwar years.

Among Miss Morante's best-known novels were "House of Liars" (1951), set in a city like Palermo; "Arundo" (1956), and, most recently, "Aracoeli" (1985), about a homosexual, his family and his memories.

Miss Morante led a life of solitude in Rome in recent years. She suffered from hydrocephalus, an abnormal increase of fluid in the cranium.

She was married to Alberto Moravia, the novelist and playwright, in 1941. They separated 22 years later and had no children.

Walter W. Jenkins, Aide to President Johnson

WASHINGTON (NYT) — Walter W. Jenkins, 67, a longtime aide and close friend of President Lyndon B. Johnson, died Saturday in Austin, Texas. He suffered a stroke June 17.

Mr. Jenkins resigned his job of special assistant to the president in the fall of 1964 after his arrest on a morals charge. He was arrested at a Washington YMCA, accused of homosexual behavior. The incident created a brief scandal about security in the final weeks of the Johnson-Goldwater presidential campaign.

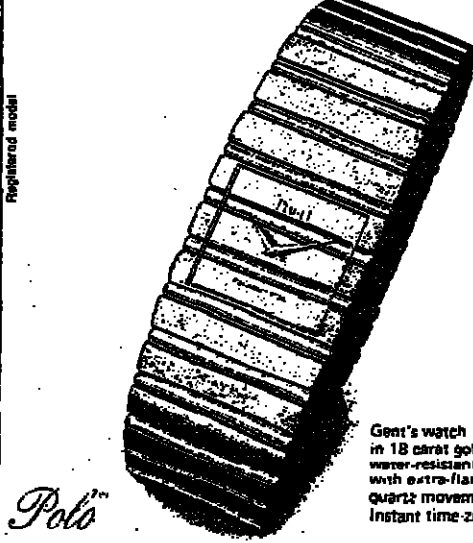
Mr. Jenkins forfeited bond instead of appearing in court to fight the charge, but the action was not legally considered an admission of guilt and did not bring a conviction. After a period in a hospital, he returned to private life.

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Spate of Espionage Arrests in U.S. Is Largely Coincidence, Officials Say

By Stephen Engelberg
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Reagan administration officials say the recent spate of espionage arrests, including four persons in four days, is largely coincidence and reflects increased awareness of security problems, not a sudden decision to round up all Americans known to be spying for foreign powers.

Stephen S. Trott, the head of the Justice Department's criminal division, said in an interview this week that the timing was dictated by circumstances.

"These things just kind of all emerged," he said. "People are just sort of stunned by the number of cases going on and they're looking for more than is there. We move when we're ready to move."

There have been at least 10 persons arrested on espionage charges in the United States this year, a total that has exceeded any other year in history, according to Justice Department records.

An intelligence source familiar with the four arrests said "there is no thread that ties them together."

Mr. Trott said that this year's succession of arrests arose from a change in policy by the administration of President Jimmy Carter, which decided to prosecute spy suspects instead of dropping the charges or using suspects as double agents.

Coupled with this, he said, were increased resources for the counterintelligence program at the FBI and the passage of legislation that

gave the Justice Department added authority for wiretapping.

According to the Justice Department, the number of wiretapping applications approved by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court has more than doubled, from 319 in 1980 to 635 in 1985. Taps authorized by the court were used against John A. Walker Jr., a retired U.S. Navy enlisted man, and similar taps may have played a role in the arrest of Larry Wu-Tai Chin, a retired employee of the CIA whose telephone conversations are described in an FBI affidavit.

Mr. Trott said another recent law helping prosecutors deal with secret material behind closed doors had also made it easier to bring espionage charges.

One factor that may have encouraged the FBI to move quickly in the cases was the criticism the bureau received for failing to detain Edward Lee Howard, a former Central Intelligence Agency officer who is believed to have fled the country. According to law enforcement officials, the FBI did not have sufficient evidence to arrest Mr. Howard.

According to court documents, Mr. Chin had been under suspicion since 1983. Ronald W. Pelton, the National Security Agency employee arrested early Monday, had admitted espionage to FBI agents in an interview on Sunday. Jonathan Jay Pollard and his wife were taken in shortly after Mr. Pollard, under surveillance by the FBI, drove onto the grounds of the Israeli Embassy here on Thursday.

An administration official, asked about the large number of espionage arrests, replied: "Is it because we're looking harder or because there are more? I would say it's both."

U.S. Brought Spy Charges Against 4 Within Last Week

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Within the last week, U.S. authorities have arrested four persons on espionage-related charges:

• Ronald William Pelton, 44, a former communications specialist for the National Security Agency, was arrested early Monday and charged with espionage.

Mr. Pelton, who worked for the agency from 1965 to 1979, is accused of selling information to the Soviet Union. Documents filed Monday contend that Mr. Pelton provided Soviet agents with details of "a United States intelligence-collection project targeted at the Soviet Union."

The FBI said Mr. Pelton became a spy after he left the agency in 1979. Officials indicated that they believe Mr. Pelton's motivation was financial.

While at the agency, Mr. Pelton had a top-secret security clearance with special access to signal intelligence, according to the FBI.

• Jonathan Jay Pollard, 31, is suspected of spying for Israel while working as a counterintelligence analyst for the navy. He was arrested and charged with espionage last Thursday after allegedly trying to seek asylum at the Israeli Embassy.

Mr. Pollard was hired by the Naval Operational Intelligence Center in 1979. In the fall of 1983, he was assigned to a newly formed, anti-terrorism unit of the Naval Investigative Service.

Mr. Pollard, the son of a professor of microbiology at the University of Notre Dame, is a graduate of Stanford University in California, where he studied international relations. He also attended the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in Massachusetts.

• Anne L. Henderson-Pollard, 25, wife of Mr. Pollard, was charged Monday with unauthorized possession of national defense information.

The U.S. government says Mrs. Pollard was told by her husband to remove "certain articles" from their apartment on Nov. 18, while her husband was being questioned by agents of the FBI.

• Larry Wu-Tai Chin, 63, is one of a handful of employees of the CIA ever arrested on espionage charges.

Mr. Chin, retired from the Central Intelligence Agency since 1981, was accused Saturday of spying for China for more than 30 years.

The government contends that Mr. Chin, a native of China who became an American citizen, provided a variety of information to the Chinese from the time he went to work for the CIA in 1952 until his arrest, including the location of Chinese prisoners of war in Korea. He is accused of receiving more than \$140,000 for the information he provided.



HONDURANS PROTEST RESULTS — In Tegucigalpa, Honduras, backers of Rafael Leonardo Callejas took to the streets to protest the outcome of the presidential election. The government candidate, José Azcona Hoyo of the Liberal Party, was expected to be declared the winner over Mr. Callejas, candidate of the National Party.

Shuttle to Test System to Build Space Stations

New York Times Service

CAPE CANAVERAL, Florida — Preparations for Tuesday night's launching of the U.S. space shuttle Atlantis were going well Tuesday, and space agency officials said they expected no difficulty in meeting the unusually stringent time schedule dictated by the mission.

A central part of the seven-day flight will be a test of a construction system by which large space stations could be built rapidly and easily by astronauts working outside the shuttle.

Another major purpose of the mission will be to launch three communications satellites, one each for the United States, Mexico and Canada. Flight 61B, the 23d since shuttle flights were inaugurated in 1981, will begin at night for only the second time in the program's history. Controllers must launch the Atlantis within one of two brief periods, or "windows." Failure would mean postponing the flight for a full day.

The liftoff was scheduled for

7:29 P.M. local time and could be delayed for only nine minutes. A second window, only four minutes long, was available starting at 8:07 P.M.

Officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration said that Mexico did not intend to use its new Morelos-B satellite during its first three years in orbit. The satellite will be launched into what is known as an inclined parking orbit, the inclination of which will drift gradually toward the orbit the satellite will occupy when it becomes active.

Mexico's needs for a telecommunications satellite are currently met by the Morelos-A, launched June 17, which enabled Mexico to maintain communications during the September earthquakes.

NASA sources said that Mexico was able to acquire the second satellite, a Hughes 376, and have it launched at a cost far below what it expects to have to pay three years from now. Mexico therefore decided to buy the satellite and, in effect, put it in orbiting storage.

The Mexican and Australian satellites are expected to bring telephone service and television to hundreds of remote communities that could not be served economically using conventional microwave communications links.

Dr. Rodolfo Neri Vela, a Mexican mission specialist who will be

Catholic Church Is Urged To Widen Bishops' Role

The Associated Press

VATICAN CITY — U.S. and Scandinavian prelates proposed Tuesday before the extraordinary synod here that local bishops and their national organizations be given a greater say in the running of the Roman Catholic Church.

On the second day of the two-week assembly called to assess the impact of the reforms of the Second Vatican Council, bishops from the Third World also called for increased support from within the church for embattled churchmen working for the poor and oppressed.

Bishop James W. Malone of Youngstown, Ohio, president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, said he believed there were "good grounds" in the Vatican II reforms to justify "some extension of collegiality to the direction of bishops."

Before coming to Rome, Bishop Malone repeatedly called for "clarifications" of the Vatican II pronouncements on collegiality.

Collegiality, in church parlance, refers to the collaborative relationship of the pope and bishops in teaching and governing the church.

Bishop Malone said that "expressions of collegiality" by U.S. bishops were not just reflections "of those gimmicks and pragmatic contrivances for which Americans are thought to have a penchant."

"We see collegiality as embodied in our conference as an important service to evangelization," he said in his speech.

The issue of shared responsibility between the pope and bishops is considered a major issue before the synod of 165 bishops from around the world.

Bishop John W. Gran of Oslo, representing the Scandinavian bishops' conference, went a step further, asserting that the Vatican II goals on collegiality "hardly have been realized according to expectations."

"If anything, a tendency is felt toward the return to the idea of diocesan bishops as representatives of Rome rather than administrators in their own right," he said. Bishop Gran said the Scandinavian bishops also have noted signs of a "return to centralization."

He said that Pope John Paul II and the Vatican should allow local bishops to seek their own identity "without causing damage to church unity."

He also called for a greater local say in the appointment of bishops. The pope sat through all 21 speeches Tuesday morning, taking notes and reading texts, said the Reverend Diamond Martin, a synod spokesman.

The synod meetings are closed to the public. Excerpts of the speeches are made available by spokesmen, and in news releases issued by the Vatican.

Suriname to Withdraw Ban on Political Parties

The Associated Press

PARAMARIBO, Suriname — Suriname's military-controlled government has lifted a five-year ban on political parties and announced the creation of a new constitution and legislature beginning Jan. 1.

There was no mention of elections. The announcement by the government of Lieutenant Colonel Desi Bouterse, who seized power in a 1980 coup, was read at a rally of 30,000 people marking the 10th anniversary of this South American country's independence from the Netherlands.

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Church Is Urged
Hidden Bishops' Role

INSIGHTS

As Development Falters, Burma Warily Seeks Help From Outside

By Barbara Crossette
New York Times Service

RANGOON — She arrives unnoticed, a young woman selling pineapples at the busy ferry slip in Mandalay. Arranging her wares on a board, she dips into her basket for a handful of white flower buds. With small puffs of breath, she blows each one into a blossom and decorates every fruit. The last flower she tucks self-consciously into her black hair.

The inherent beauty and grace of the Burmese have been remarked upon for as long as foreigners have visited the country. At the turn of the century, R.G. Talbot Kelly, a British painter and travel writer, observed: "These people have so much that is innately pretty in their composition that nature itself seems to be beautified by their presence. Even the poorest have a peculiar facility for arranging and wearing their simple garments to advantage."

In Burma, appearance testifies to a sense of decorum and dignity, explained a Western-educated Burmese woman. When the Burmese are persuaded to talk about themselves as a nation, their larger preoccupation with self-esteem also becomes evident. "We are careful not to disgrace the family," the woman said.

When independence was won from Britain in 1948, the Burmese had varying political visions for their country. But most of them agreed that after the psychological, social and economic dislocations of British rule, they wanted no more foreign domination, and certainly no more Westernization. They wanted to develop the abundant resources of Burma's beautiful land in their own way.

Today, nearly 38 years later, they are still waiting for the chance to create a nation in their own image. Burma is ruled by an authoritarian and often xenophobic military bureaucracy under General Ne Win, who took power in 1962 and isolated the country from almost all foreign assistance and influence. The proud Burmese nevertheless are haunted by the world outside.

The dilemma is played out in small tragicomic moments. Two recent graduates of Rangoon University, trying to sell their services as tour guides, stumble with diminishing confidence through an explanation of Buddhist Lent and the holy day of Wase. Finally, one blurts out: "I am so sorry. We don't know the festival days. We only know what days the foreign flights come in."

Burma has been on increasingly cordial terms with the United States, West Germany, Australia and Japan for slightly more than a decade. More recently, Rangoon improved its links with China, a country whose economic policy changes are watched closely by the Burmese.

Despite the government's loosely defined socialist philosophy, international communism has always been seen as a danger, at least by the older officers. One of Burma's longest-running newspapers is Communist. Over the last 15 years, Burma's relations with the Soviet Union have grown chillier.

Living under a state-imposed philosophy called the Burmese Way to Socialism, this nation of 36 million people feels acutely its growing dependence on Asian neighbors who chose the paths of industrialization and a free-market economy. The Burmese, poor and caught in a



The capital, Rangoon, a city of young people and of 19th-century buildings constructed during British rule.

As in many poor countries, the people responded to scarcity and oppression with an unofficial, sympathetic system of their own.

net of surveillance, find daily life a test of their resourcefulness. Many prepare for jobs and graduate with skills only to find that they are unemployable.

Like many people in poor countries, they seem to have responded by collectively abandoning the official way and creating an unofficial system of their own. It is a sympathetic, symbiotic method of survival. A little "pocket money" to low-paid civil servants smooths necessary transactions; "moonlighting" in legal or not-so-legal private businesses makes life as a bureaucrat viable. The black market has become a way of life.

At precisely 8:15 every weekday morning in Rangoon, traffic comes to a halt along a well-defined route through the capital city's busy thoroughfares. There are no flashing lights or sirens, just silence as a sleek black car rolls past, its white-curtained windows hiding the passenger from view.

"The president," a taxi driver explains. "We have to be quiet and not move, or I will lose my license."

President San Yu's daily motorcade may be a hint of things to come. Until recently, it was thought that Mr. San Yu, a former general and army chief of staff, lacked the real authority that would bolster such displays of self-importance. Although he assumed the ceremonial duties of the presidency four years ago, all power rested

with Mr. Ne Win, who was the chairman and sole decision-maker of the Burma Socialist Program Party. It is the country's only legal political organization.

Last summer, Mr. San Yu's fortunes changed suddenly when the organization held its Fifth Party Congress. Mr. Ne Win, 74, surprised many in the diplomatic corps by naming Mr. San Yu, 67, to the newly created post of deputy party chairman. The move placed him in the direct line of succession.

Diplomats in Rangoon describe Mr. San Yu as a man who may once have been influenced by Soviet-style socialism, but who now seems to be of an unknown ideology. One calls him "a loyal and colorful character," adding: "But this may be just what Ne Win wants. The chairman wants no jockeying for position in the hierarchy after his death. He wants to leave behind the Burma he has created — and he believes it is his Burma."

Mr. Ne Win, though universally feared, is a member in good standing of the generation of Burmese liberators who campaigned for independence in the 1930s and '40s. It is an image that he fosters.

The general, who had taken over the new Burmese national armed forces before independence, distinguished himself as head of a caretaker military government from 1953 to 1960. He put the badly divided country back on track economically and strategically after the drift

and dissension it had known under Prime Minister Nu, an indecisive visionary. There have been no democratic elections since 1962, when Mr. Nu was overthrown by Mr. Ne Win.

The years of battle with the Karen, Shan, Kachin, Arakanese and other ethnic armies who are opposed to rule by Burmese, the country's ethnic majority, have brought the Burmese military establishment into direct confrontation with Communist insurgents. The insurgency is now more or less confined to the guerrillas of the Burma Communist Party, who have been pushed into the northeast along the Chinese border.

In the past, China, which supported the insurgent Communists, posed a greater problem than the Soviet Union for Mr. Ne Win. But Chinese backing for the rebels recently has appeared to stop, and Burmese leaders, including Mr. Ne Win, have visited China. His visit was a significant step in gaining Chinese recognition of his legitimacy as party chairman, for Beijing traditionally values party-to-party ties and had long maintained links only with the Burma Communist Party. President Li Xianmin of China paid a state visit to Burma last March.

Experts say that Rangoon may use the Chinese leadership's new stance to deal a double blow to the rebellious northeast, attacking both military targets and the opium fields that now finance the guerrillas. According to reports in Rangoon, Burmese pilots are already being

trained in the United States for crop-eradication missions.

Some Burmese, as well as foreign students of the country's politics and insurgencies, speculate that Vietnam — with or without the Soviet Union — might step into China's role as backer of the Burma Communist Party. No evidence supports this as yet.

The philosophical base of Burma's economy, which badly needs new direction, remains vaguely socialist. It was formed by the Marxist and Fabian thinking prevalent among the anti-colonial movements of the 1930s, when Burma's first generation of leaders was coming of political age. To them, the theories matched realities: Capitalism in prewar Burma meant exploitation by European banks, eviction by foreign landlords and indebtedness to Chinese merchants and Indian money lenders.

When the Ne Win government came to power, these ideas were codified, often contradictorily, in two documents, The Burmese Way to Socialism and The System of Correlation of Man and His Environment. "Man matters most" was the noble motto enunciated by the Burma Socialist Program Party.

But practice overtook theory. Military officers with little education and no experience rose to the heights of vital institutions, and the state's intrusion in every area of the economy, including wholesale nationalizations, soon took its toll.

As recently as last August, at the Fifth Party Congress of the Burma Socialist Program Party, the government publicly stated it would cooperate more with foreigners, if only temporarily, in Burma's development.

Diplomats and development experts working in Burma say that cooperation has been very slow. The success of projects involving industry, agriculture, public services or the building of an infrastructure hinges on personal contacts with suspicious and unprofessionally uneven ministry officials, and on a decision-making process that is almost clandestine.

Central to Burma's unofficial economy is the importation, legally or otherwise, of foreign goods. Burma has shortages in almost every commodity and produces virtually no luxury items. Smuggling, either as a wholesale distributor or for oneself, is the more common way of breaking into the import trade.

The country's precious stones and metals, teak, tin and even cattle cross an uncontrolled border riddled by insurgency and corruption. Insurgents in some sections engage in smuggling and levy taxes on other smugglers. Opium and refined heroin flow out, and hard currency, goods and even such services as Thai dentistry are sought in return.

The Burmese Army is trying to close some, if not all, of the smuggling routes in areas dominated by the Karen ethnic minority. But new routes continue to open, and more goods are arriving from Singapore and Malaysia's Penang Island to take the place of Thai products.

Although permission to go abroad is granted rarely, Burmese in certain jobs may now legally bring back a limited amount of foreign goods if appropriate duties are paid. This system has catapulted the merchant seaman to a level of prestige in Burmese society.

Sagaing is now the home of more than 5,000 monks and nuns. The men in red and rust robes and women in orange and pale peach reflect the pervasive role of Buddhism in the daily life of central Burma.

In contrast to Southeast Asia's other major Theravada Buddhist nations, Sri Lanka and Thailand, where monasticism has been politicized and religious practice has been ritualized to a greater degree, Burma's Buddhism appears refreshingly down-to-earth.

A Sagaing monk talks freely, like most Burmese, of the military dictatorship. "The government knows it cannot challenge the Buddhist church. The monks would fight."

"But it controls the freedom of monks as it controls the freedom of other citizens," he said. "It is hard for us to travel. I had requested to go to Sri Lanka to learn the Sinhalese language so that I could study their Buddhist books. It was refused. I can't go to India, where every Buddhist wants to make a pilgrimage."

Burmese are scandalized by the presence of scantily clad Thai prostitutes who, they say, are imported by West German and other contractors working on government projects. Some of these women can be seen lounging in the lobby of the Inya Lake Hotel, a Soviet-built cement monolith that is incongruous in the tropical atmosphere of Rangoon.

Fraternizing with foreigners is not encouraged by the Ne Win government, and tourists are allowed to come for only seven days. (In the past they were allowed to visit only for 24 hours, and later for three days.) The Burmese will seize any opportunity for conversation with tourists on substantive topics such as Chinese economic policies, world terrorism or the quality of life elsewhere.

The use of English, inherited from the British, is still widespread in Burma. Beginning this year in the ninth grade there are 10 grades in the pre-university system, English is being reintroduced as the language of instruction. Each year another grade will be added, down to kindergarten, until all children will be taught in English in every subject except Burmese language and literature.

Diplomats caution against reading too much significance into the revival of English. Rumor has it that Mr. Ne Win made the decision after his daughter went to Britain for graduate medical work and failed a language-qualifying exam.

Although there have been violent incidents in modern Burmese history, violence has not been a hallmark of political life. "We are a forgiving and forgetting people," a man in his 60s tells a guest in his home. "It is easy for any government to rule here."

Protests are launched occasionally, particularly by students, and they are quickly and decisively suppressed. But no one speaks of torture. There is no atmosphere of a police state on Rangoon's run-down streets and broken sidewalks, where gaping holes expose the sewers below.

There is, however, a sense of sad resignation. In a small cafe in Mandalay, a middle-aged man remarked on how little he sees of his family as he goes from job to job. "We don't care about who is the government," he said. "We just want something done about the economy. We Burmese work so hard and have nothing."

Government vs. the 'Sanctuary Movement': U.S. Clerics on Trial for Sheltering Aliens

By Laurie Becklund
Los Angeles Times Service

TUCSON, Arizona — On Oct. 1, 1984, Salomon Graham, federal informant and veteran smuggler of illegal aliens, strapped a recording device to his chest and drove to meet a group of suspected smugglers of illegal aliens under investigation by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

"This is C-192," or confidential informant 92, Mr. Graham said into the hidden microphone as he drove into a parking lot. "I am at the Cathedral Presbyterian Church."

He walked inside the church. The next thing he heard, according to a transcript of his tape, was "everybody resting a prayer," and then a Salvadoran man describing to the congregation the violence he said had forced his family to flee their native country.

Mr. Graham's recording may have been the first time that the U.S. government has bugged an open church service.

"To my knowledge, the U.S. government never had to before," said Don Reno, special assistant U.S. attorney, in an interview. "But this group was conspiring to smuggle illegal aliens into the United States, and they were using the national media to publicly recruit more co-conspirators."

Thus, the federal government secretly investigated what was publicly the most public alien-smuggling ring in U.S. history: the so-called sanctuary movement that has openly professed to sheltering about 2,000 illegal aliens.

The investigation ended last January when a federal grand jury indicted 16 members of the church-based movement on felony conspiracy charges, including 71 counts of smuggling, harboring and transporting illegal aliens.

Three defendants later pleaded guilty to lesser charges. Charges against two others have been dropped.

The trial of the remaining 11 — an ecclesiastical mix that includes two Roman Catholic priests, a Presbyterian minister, two Quakers, two Methodists, a Unitarian, two Catholic lay workers and a Catholic nun — started this month after a summer of pretrial motions. It is expected to last into January.

The trial pits the federal government against a growing movement endorsed by nearly 300 churches and synagogues, 10 universities, and half a dozen city councils that contend they have a moral duty, even a legal right, to help people who claim they are fleeing for their lives.

"The most fundamental issue," Mr. Reno said, "is whether persons in disagreement with their government can take the law into their own hands and interpret that law in a way which is in clear violation of its purpose."

In his opening statement to the jury on Nov. 15, Mr. Reno was careful to keep religion out of the courtroom, even to the extent of referring to Sister Darlene Nicorski, a Phoenix nun, as Miss Nicorski. He then described in detail how defendants had carried out a "criminal enterprise" by guiding aliens through a hole in the border fence, or by giving them American school uniforms or fraudulent documents to bring them to the United States.

In a series of lengthy pretrial rulings, U.S. District Judge Earl H. Carroll made it clear that he considered the proceedings to be an "alien-smuggling case," and would not allow evidence that dealt with international law, conditions in



The Reverend John M. Fife

foreign countries, or defendants' motives or religious beliefs.

He also rejected a defense motion to dismiss the charges on the ground that the federal government was guilty of misconduct in its use of Mr. Graham and another informant. Both received immunity from prosecution on charges of smuggling aliens, and were paid \$14,000 for their work.

The motion charged that recordings violated First Amendment rights of dozens of worshippers not involved in the investigation and caused a "chilling effect" in many congregations.

The second informant, Jesus Cruz, was described by sanctuary volunteers as a genial fellow in his late 50s who had been an "uncle" to Latin American children he had helped transport in his undercover role as volunteer. Mr. Cruz even volunteered to send Christmas cards to children as part of a ruse to secure their addresses for subsequent arrest, sanctuary workers said.

"God bless you, father," he would say to me, and give me a hug," said Tony Clark, a defendant who is an associate priest at Sacred Heart Church in Nogales, Mexico.

Judge Carroll has yet to rule on one remaining defense motion charging that the Justice Department "selectively prosecuted" movement members for political reasons while all but ignoring ranchers who induce workers to cross the border to work in their fields.

Documents submitted in support of that motion draw on investigators' files from the day the immigration service opened its sanctuary file on March 26, 1982, to Jan. 14, 1985, when the defendants were indicted.

The first memo was written by a Border Patrol agent who attended a news conference staged in 1982 by a defendant, the Reverend John Fife, to announce that his Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson was declaring itself a sanctuary for Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees.

The agent described the event as the beginning of a ploy to demonstrate to the public that the U.S. government, via "jack-booted Gestapo Border Patrol agents, [thinks] nothing of breaking down the doors of their churches to drag Jesus Christ out to be tortured and murdered."

An immigration service intelligence agent in Yuma noted in 1983 that a story about the movement appeared in a Catholic-Episcopal magazine with what he described as a "left-wing format of stories about nuclear disarmament, U.S. foreign policy [and] black and poor peoples' movements."

In September 1984, an immigration agent based in Los Angeles attended two sanctuary events there, including one on Sept. 30 in which the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, who had sought the Democratic presidential nomination, supported the movement and "expressed the usual anti-Reagan sentiment," the agent said.

Denying that the case had been prosecuted for political reasons, Mr. Reno said that "everyone knew this would be a controversial case because priests and nuns were being indicted."

He added, "They singled themselves out for prosecution."

Since 1982, leaders of the movement have welcomed reporters and allowed television cameras to follow them occasionally as they transported refugees across the country.

They have distributed thousands of brochures, conducted public caravans of aliens through downtown streets and established a toll-free telephone number to widen their network. Mr. Fife even posted a billboard-sized sign in front of his church announcing in Spanish that the church was a "sanctuary for the oppressed of Central America."

But such activities did not constitute the sort of evidence that he needed for trial, Mr. Reno said. "It was necessary to make the recordings to corroborate informants' reports," he said. The informants will testify at the trial, but the tapes will not be introduced because they are unnecessary and "difficult to work with," Mr. Reno said.

Defense attorneys said they suspected that Mr. Reno would not introduce the tapes because they could reveal the defendants' motivations.

The defendants have said they were following ancient traditions of sanctuary. Moreover, they said, they were acting in accordance with international treaties and the 1980 U.S. Refugee Act, both of which require countries to grant asylum to anyone who has legitimate fear of persecution in his homeland.

The defendants contend that, unlike some nonviolent movements of the past, they are not practicing civil disobedience. "It is the INS who is violating the law, not us," asserted Jim Corbett, 52, a Quaker and retired rancher. With Mr. Fife, he is considered a co-founder of the movement.

Judge Carroll has ruled that the defendants have the right to mount an unusual but legitimate "advice of counsel" defense that contends they were innocent because they had not intended to break the law, had consulted attorneys, and had been advised that what they were doing was legal.

Defense attorneys declined to outline any strategies in interviews. But they appeared confident, almost lighthearted, as they prepared their opening statements.

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Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

No Fixed Rules on Terror

It does no good to fault Egypt or Malta or Greece for the death of 60 passengers in the storming of EgyptAir Flight 648. The responsibility for the carnage falls squarely on the terrorists. But to recognize that brings us no closer to understanding the mystery behind this chilling episode: Why did they do it?

Once in Malta, they made no specific demands except for fuel. Then they began killing, first passengers one at a time and then, unimaginably vicious, heaving grenades when commandos stormed the plane. In these circumstances, there can be no argument about the need for the Egyptian rescue operation, only about its management.

The presumed motive of the terrorists was to humiliate President Mubarak of Egypt and Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, for pledging to renounce violence outside Israel. There is talk of the terrorists' links to Libya's Colonel Qadhafi.

What can be said in the wake of this butchery is that airport security is still insufficient and that all civilized nations, not just Egypt, need more effective countermeasures against

aerial piracy. Greece insists that all bags and passengers were rigorously checked under a new procedure instituted at the Athens airport. It may well be that the weapons were already hidden on the aircraft, which came from Cairo. The obvious need is to check the planes before passengers board them.

There is a natural tendency at times of such cruelty to seek comfort in generalizations. Never negotiate, some say, forgetting that even Israel has in some circumstances found it wise to negotiate. Simplism plays into the hands of terrorism. All terrorist acts are unique, and few fixed rules can guide governments.

When in last resort governments use violence against terrorists, all need to improve their techniques to minimize casualties. Debating whether Egypt's commandos had to be called in is a matter of hindsight; evaluating their performance is preparation for the next time. Such operations should transcend concerns of national sovereignty. Foresight argues for a pooling of skills to provide the best help when terrorists strike with such hatred.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Barking at the Watchdog

A lot of people at the Central Intelligence Agency have never been reconciled to the increased burden of accountability that Congress imposed on it in the mid-1970s. They see leaks and loss of effectiveness as the price of having to tell legislators about covert action, and they do not like being open to a new and, to them, suspect host of libelers. Liberating the CIA from such procedures stood high among the security goals proclaimed by Ronald Reagan in 1980. He has since, wisely, found more pressing tasks, but distaste for oversight lingers. It has been evident in recent outbursts by CIA Director William Casey.

The reformers had hoped that a nonpolitical intelligence professional would run the CIA—someone like William Webster, the nonpartisan judge who took over the FBI, or Bobby Inman, for a while Mr. Casey's deputy. But President Reagan chose his campaign director, who has since made himself known, in part by public statements, as both an advocate and an operator of expanded CIA covert actions.

Several instances have come to light in which Mr. Casey had to be reminded of his statutory obligation to brief Congress in a full and timely fashion. Recently the CIA's competence was called into doubt in the fiasco of Vitaly Yurchenko's "defection." It was not simply that the agency reacted publicly exulted in an intelligence coup that turned to dust. Central to the conservative indictment of the

1970s was the charge that human intelligence had been downgraded in favor of technical intelligence, the collection of information by spy satellites and the like. Here the conservatives' man blew the case of a live agent.

The chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Dave Durenberger, goes on to question the quality of the CIA's intelligence product. Outsiders cannot really tell whether analyses are sufficiently farsighted and free of political bias, but, although it ruffles Mr. Casey, there can be no harm in keeping the analysts on their toes. Before the current flap, Mr. Durenberger said that Mr. Casey had indicated support for a committee plan to check on the CIA's system of looking ahead. Presumably that support still holds.

Does all this make a case for Mr. Durenberger's inclination to restrict the CIA director to an intelligence role? In the original 1947 National Security Act, intelligence was given a place beside, not at, the policy table, performing a service function as a supplier of information. In this tradition, Mr. Durenberger sees intelligence as a "service organization" and advises the director to "welcome constructive comments designed to improve that service."

The administration has another view. This is an explosive issue, and it is unlikely to yield to the requisite consensus while disputes on oversight rage.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Danger in the Dollar's Fall

The Japanese yen has risen in the foreign exchange markets to about 200 to the dollar. That's a dramatic increase since Sept. 22, when the five largest industrial democracies announced a campaign of intervention in the markets to bring the dollar down. The yen is now getting up close to the exchange rate that reflects its actual value in trade. The dollar was overvalued against the yen by roughly 30 percent when the intervention began two months ago. Now the overvaluation has been brought into the range of 5 to 10 percent.

Amidst the applause and congratulations, the governments of the trading countries now run two kinds of danger. On the American side there is a great temptation to say that intervention works and the exchange rates can safely be left to intervention alone. That is a very comfortable idea, for it means that there is no need to take up difficult and unpleasant responsibilities such as reducing the size of the federal budget deficit. But, like many comfortable ideas, it is wrong.

Intervention only means using government money to buy and sell currencies and move rates by changing supply and demand in the

market. Historically, intervention ruled the exchange markets only as long as governments' resources were massively larger than those of private traders and speculators. But the former system of fixed exchange rates collapsed in the early 1970s precisely because of the growth of currency and investment flows beyond levels that governments could outweigh. Trading in the dollar alone now is in the range of \$200 billion a day; total U.S. government revenues are a little under \$800 billion a year. If the major trading countries want stable rates, they are going to have to bring their basic economic policies into better harmony. For the Americans, that begins with getting the budget deficits under control.

But there is another danger ahead as the exchange rates swing, and this one mainly threatens the Japanese and the Europeans. As the American dollar drops, U.S. demand for Japanese and European imports is going to drop with it. Japan and particularly West Germany, which sets the pace for Europe, are reacting very slowly to this reality. The right response is to step up domestic demand.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Opinion

Defending Anglo-Irish Accord

In defense of the Anglo-Irish agreement the British government now has nowhere to go but forward. Its merits need the most vigorous "hard sell" which a united cabinet can mount. Unionists need reminding that the Anglo-Irish intergovernmental conference offers the prospect of improving cross-border security coordination. If improved security should be the

content of the government's promotional drive, its form also needs careful attention. There is a balance to be drawn between assertions or pronouncements which raise the temperature still higher and those that are best designed to persuade any nonaligned members of the majority community to give the deal a chance. The best approach to this would be the broadest government front.

—The Times (London)

FROM OUR NOV. 27 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1910: Suffragist Accosts Churchill

LONDON — On arrival at King's Cross station from Bradford (on Nov. 26), where he had been addressing a Radical meeting, says the "People," Mr. Winston Churchill was attacked by a woman suffragist. Hardly had the Home Secretary alighted from the train when a woman rushed toward him, and after hissing a few words into his ear, made an attempt to strike Mr. Churchill in the face. The Minister ducked his head to avoid the blow, which in consequence fell on his hat and knocked it off. A crowd gathered, and the woman was seized. She was about to be given into custody by one of the railway officials when Mr. Churchill directed that she should be allowed to go, and the Home Secretary made his way to an automobile and drove off to his residence in Eccleston Square without further molestation.

1935: Old Inflation in the New Deal

NEW YORK — Lewis Douglas, who resigned his directorship of the budget because he was unable to accept the New Deal's fiscal policies, told a New York economic dinner (on Nov. 25) that inflation was now here and that the public must choose between a small boom and a small collapse, or a big boom and a "greater bust." Mr. Douglas insisted that in its inflation the New Deal was simply the old order in a new guise. He said that whereas the banks were blamed for the inflation that led to the 1929 collapse, the government was now creating it. He found four parallels between the old order and the New Deal: "Rising stock markets; shares selling at abnormal levels in relation to value and earnings; public statements that everything is fine; reluctance of the authorities to undo damage done by cheap money."

Why U.S. Must Distance Itself From Marcos

By Dave Durenberger

WASHINGTON — Time is running out in the Philippines for the regime of President Ferdinand E. Marcos and for the United States.

A Communist-led insurgency has grown from a minor presence in the 1970s to more than 30,000 armed regular and irregular guerrillas. They control or are contesting control of at least 10 million people, or nearly 20 percent of the entire population. They are now active in nearly every province, including the outskirts of the capital. More important, their numbers have been growing rapidly, particularly in the last two years.

Like all insurgencies, this one is as much a political and social phenomenon as it is a military one. It feeds off the anger and despair of a population victimized by economic decline, political corruption, maldistribution of wealth and abuse of power. While Mr. Marcos, his wife and a few favored cronies and military commanders have amassed huge fortunes, the economy has become a shambles of mismanagement and corruption.

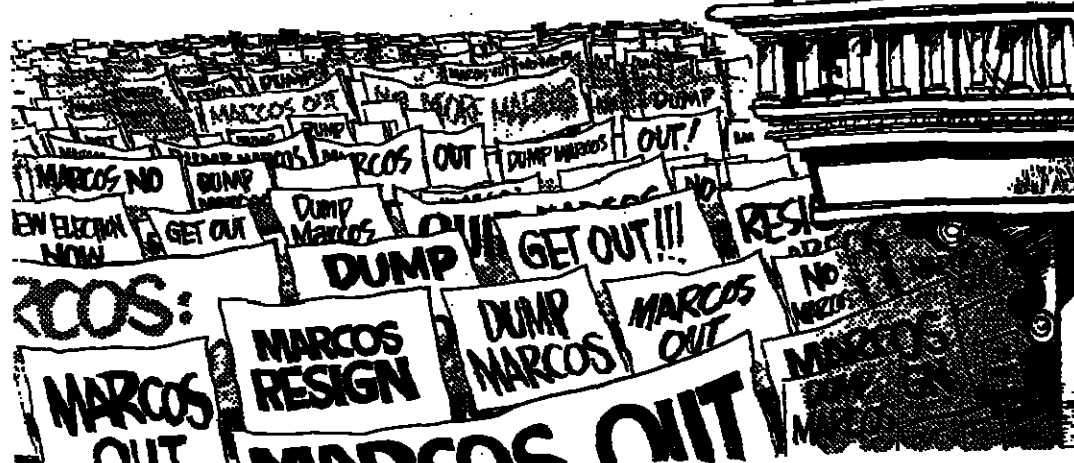
Politically, the Philippines is run by presidential decree with power concentrated in the small oligarchy around Mr. Marcos. The 1983 assassination of Mr. Marcos' strongest political opponent, Benigno S. Aquino Jr., almost certainly the work of Philippine military personnel, greatly accelerated the decline in popular support for the regime while stimulating recruitment for the insurgency. One result of deteriorating conditions has been a growing effort by Filipinos to leave for America; they soon will be the largest Asian minority there.

It is an all-too-familiar problem. A corrupt, increasingly ineffective but pro-U.S. dictator faces a popular, radical revolution. Washington is faced with the dilemma of trying to prop up a disintegrating regime or abandoning it and accepting an anti-U.S. successor. The pattern has repeated itself, with local variations, in postwar China, Cuba, Vietnam, Iran and Nicaragua. In each case the United States waited too long and allowed itself to become too closely identified with the established regime. When the revolution triumphed, America was left without ties or credit with a new, often virulently hostile government—whether led by Mao Zedong, Fidel Castro, the Viet Cong, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini or the Sandinistas. These have been a series of costly lessons: We cannot afford another.

No one can know for certain whether there is still time in the Philippines. Certainly the hour is late. But I believe that there is still time, and that it is clear what we must do. The U.S. administration has tried to use quiet pressure and argument to persuade Mr. Marcos of the seriousness of the situation and the necessity for reforms. The policy has not worked, because Mr. Marcos sees reforms as undermining his personal and political position.

It is time for the United States to distance itself publicly from the Marcos regime in the eyes of the Philippine populace. References to the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship" have been a staple of propaganda by leftist groups for years.

In recent weeks some important steps have been taken. In a highly visible mission, Senator Paul Laxalt, a Republican of Nevada, brought a personal letter from President Reagan urging reforms. The U.S. ambassador in Manila has condemned the government's response to the deaths of four Americans in that country at the hands of Philippine security forces. Senators and congressmen have spoken out in blunt terms concerning the need for change.



By Ohman in The Oregonian (Portland), Copyright 1985.

Mr. Marcos has responded to these, as well as domestic pressures by calling for early presidential elections—a kind of national referendum on his leadership which is due to be held early next year.

That may or may not be a welcome development. If Mr. Marcos uses the means available to him to rig the election, the result will be worse than no election at all. It will be the final death knell for democracy in the Philippines, and many of those who have pinned their hopes on democratic processes will give up and throw in their lot with the insurgents.

Nevertheless, the democratic opposition appears to believe that it has no choice but to pick up the gauntlet that Marcos has thrown down. Elections are the only hope.

It is up to the United States to do whatever it can to ensure that these elections are honest, whether Mr. Marcos intends them to be or not. The Senate and the House have passed resolutions that set forth the conditions that Congress considers essential for fair elections.

They include an insistence that Marcos observe the provision of his own Constitution requiring a president to resign before holding a special election; that the opposition be provided adequate access to radio, television and the print media during the campaign; that the election commission be staffed with genuinely nonpartisan members; that official accreditation be extended to the National Movement for Free Elections, an independent citizens' election-monitoring organization; that the military serve a nonpartisan, professional function as protectors of the balloting, not instruments for rigging the outcome; and that Mr. Marcos nominate a vice presidential running mate as the constitution requires.

If those conditions can be met, and if the opposition can present a unified ticket, a very ill patient will have taken the first step toward recovery.

The writer, a Republican of Minnesota, is chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee. He contributed this column to the Los Angeles Times.

America Should Act to Equalize Trade Competition

By Edmund G. Brown Jr.

LOS ANGELES — A few years ago, the president of one of the leading semiconductor companies in the United States complained to me about the unwillingness of the Japanese to open their markets to his company's products.

When Takeo Fukuda, the prime minister at the time, visited California a few months later, I asked the business executive to join me in greeting him and to make his point directly. This he did, and with such force and bluntness that the rest of us in the room became uncomfortable.

Mr. Fukuda listened politely, and then replied that Japan had opened its markets, and very much welcomed his company's competition.

Now, five years later, the complaints have not gone away. They have been repeated with growing intensity by almost every executive in the industry. What is happening in semiconductors may foreshadow what is in store for America itself.

These are the facts. The Japanese have virtually routed U.S. semiconductor companies from the largest segment of the memory chip market and stand poised to capture other sectors of the industry still dominated by American concerns. Despite a deep recession in the industry, Japan's semiconductor investment is soaring, exceeding that of U.S. companies for the first time. The goal of the Japanese is to position themselves to control the market of the future.

The Japanese are doing well in semiconductors because they have committed themselves to a national strategy. In pursuing this, the government creates a selectively closed home market from which Japanese companies launch export forays to the rest of the world. Huge sums of cheap capital, made available by the national emphasis on savings, and the ability to accept low rates of return on investment, enable companies to drive down prices while expanding capacity and maintaining high levels of research.

I mention the semiconductor industry in some detail, not only because semiconductors provide the brains for the devices that are transforming the world economy, or even because the programmable intelligence they make possible are at the heart of economic leadership and military strength, but also because the problems of the semiconductor industry illustrate the U.S. dilemma.

This is no smokestack industry. Its level of capital spending, research and development, productivity, commitment to long-term investment and a skilled management and work force are the envy of the world. Yet U.S. companies in this field are losing.

If the United States cannot compete in industries where we are the most productive, our standard of living will deteriorate. But while nobody wants that, there is not yet the political will to take decisive action.

The President's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness is ignored. The debate on tax reform barely mentions the words "trade" or "competitiveness." And efforts to reduce the budget deficit, which in turn would bring down interest rates, lower the dollar and make U.S. exports more attractive, are going nowhere.

Washington remains committed to incompatible objectives: raising defense spending, supporting the elderly, protecting farmers, maintaining the social safety net—and all with-

out legislating additional taxes. Instead of biting budget and tax bullets, the president and his advisers are gumming rhetorical marshmallows.

One doesn't have to look back to Benjamin Franklin's sense of thrift to know that Americans have been creating an economy where the sound order of things is perpetually compromised. Assuming that government can fix any fiscal excess, we have lurched from one indulgence to another, embracing the promiscuous creation of credit. But for how long? We are but 5 percent of the world, and oceans no longer insulate us from other nations determined to master the techniques of economic strength: strategy, savings, sacrifice.

To compete and win requires a

fundamental change of mind. The indispensable first step is to make competition in international markets a national goal, and redesign U.S. tax, spending and trade policies to overcome the nation's handicaps.

President Reagan should use the legal and political levers at his command to open markets abroad or block the onslaught of foreign products in industries vital to our national welfare. Markets once lost will be much harder to regain, and he must understand this as he weighs his moves. In cases where trade deficits with certain countries remain abnormally large, it may even be necessary to negotiate an agreed balance.

As for the United States semiconductor industry, the options are few.

Hazards Facing the Environmentalists

By David Roe

WASHINGTON — None of us environmentalists has seen a handy list of reasons for not protecting the environment. But if one did exist for opponents of environmental protection, it would probably look something like this:

• We need more study. This is the all-time granddaddy of reasons for not taking action now. The acid-rain argument is just its latest incarnation. Warning: Do not be drawn into a discussion of what should be done about the problem in the meantime. The idea is that nothing should be done but if you say so, someone might think of something.

• It would hurt the economy. The polls keep showing public support for environmental issues, yet environmental-bashing has consistently been part of President Reagan's popular appeal, because of the strong impression that environmental protection and economic growth are at opposite ends of a seesaw. Raise one and you automatically lower the other.

Warning: The seesaw relationship is not necessarily true so avoid calling for more study on this one. Remember what happened when the Environmental Protection Agency called for more study of cutting down on lead in gasoline and found economic benefits.

• It would cost jobs. Don't hesitate to use this argument even when the environmental action you're trying to stop would create more jobs than it would eliminate. Back when the late Representative Phil Burton, Democrat of California, was trying to buy up forest to expand Redwood National Park, timber companies were successful with the jobs issue, even though there were a lot more new loggers than laid-off lumberjacks.

Note: Keeping the issue general, rather than focusing on the jobs of specific workers, also avoids embarrassment when the environmental action would benefit those same workers (for example, pesticide restrictions and farm workers).

• The risk is exaggerated. Lots of environmental issues involve small risks of a big disaster, like people getting cancer or a dam breaking or a nuclear plant melting down. Until it happens, which it probably

won't, you can always argue that the other side is being alarmist. Note: This argument works particularly well with toxic chemicals, where the evidence comes in funny numbers that the public doesn't understand, and where the toxicologists can't keep up with the demands for analysis. Throw the word "chemophobia" around. It implies

that concerns about chemicals are both exaggerated and irrational.

• The damage is trivial. The flip side of "exaggerated risk" is this is usually referred to as the Snail Darter theme, after its most famous incarnation in the case of the Tennessee Valley Authority's Tellico Dam. The builder argued in the 1970s: "What's a three-inch fish, compared to a giant dam?"

In fact, fish seem to make a natural target for this argument. Dave Stockman's Office of Management and Budget came up with a winner when it announced that the cost of cleaning up acid rain would amount to \$6,000 a fish—a brilliant combination of the Snail Darter theme with "harming the economy."

• You can't keep changing the

rules. This is a simple appeal to fairness. The nuclear industry has used it most, but it turns up in every context where environmental and health protection are delegated to technical regulations. The bureaucrats who wrote the rules are hardly eager to start over.

• Trust us to handle it ourselves. In a nutshell, deregulation. The regulators are against you on this one, since if the system trusted you instead of them on technical issues, they'd be out of a job. But they know the secret that, at bottom, even the toughest regulatory programs have to trust the industry for something—and that most of the time they're trusting you across the board because they can't keep up.

Do not be intimidated when something goes wrong. After the Bhopal catastrophe in India, and even after a toxic gas release or two in Institute, West Virginia, Union Carbide was still being trusted to prevent future leaks at its plants since no one else knew how, and no one had the nerve to shut them.

• We can't afford to accept liability. You simply can't stay in business if you "accept" such a burden. The nuclear industry led the way on this argument with the Price-Anderson Act, which protected them from liability above \$560 million (very useful at Three Mile Island).

• If you've seen one tree, you've seen 'em all. Don't be fooled. There's a brilliant argument lurking behind this discredited old one-liner. The modern version is powerful. The point of the old version was that trees shouldn't be saved for their own sake, but used.

The modern version has to do with pollution loading and the point is the same. One of the great resource values of the air, water, and land is their ability to soak up pollution to a certain level without causing much harm. That value is there to be used. Anyone who thinks otherwise is being a purist, or tree-hugger-trying to protect nature for its own sake.

The writer is a senior attorney with the Environmental Defense Fund, a nonprofit group of lawyers and scientists. He contributed this column to The Washington Post.

A New Era Of Mistrust Is Created

By William Safire

PARIS — My ulterior motive in going to summits is to meet Soviet counterparts where they are free to talk and have been told to be communicative. Jousting is encouraged. At such a time, summit groups ask: Are these Communists for real? Are they telling us what they sincerely, though mistakenly, believe, or are they spouting a line that they, as intelligent people, know to be false?

In the same way, President Reagan must wonder whether the views of General Secretary Gorbachev during their six hours of tête-à-tête reflected the Soviet leader's grasp of reality or were merely official positions set forth to justify Marxism.

If the president concludes that his Soviet counterpart can be persuaded by reason and by personal assurance to modify a cold-war paranoid mindset, then Mr. Reagan would think it possible to ally Soviet fears of America, thereby opening the way to arms reduction. Such a conclusion presupposes that mistrust, and not desire for world domination, motivates the Soviet Union.

Contrary to that fond hope is this notion: Behind the facade of trust, twisting and disinformation is a man in touch with reality as we know it, whose political conclusions may differ but whose historical premises are in the ballpark of our world.

I explored that in a four-hour sub-summit dinner with Comrade Toughguy and Comrade Nieceguy.

Comrade Toughguy, a Moscow media biggie and successful playwright, is sophisticated, shy, mentally agile, humorous and cocksure—in other words, a kindred spirit. Comrade Nieceguy is sensitive, thoughtful, literary and reliable. Comrade Toughguy and I went at it hammer-and-sickle-wise. Not much drinking, we were too sober to ensure each other's heads. Comrade Toughguy, national motives and regional issues. I can report, and he would agree, that we do not even live on the same planet.

This was no mere clash of ideology; we had found little agreement on anything that happened in our adult lives. Our ideas were did not touch.

Comrade Nieceguy agreed with him, adding that it was important to understand that Moscow would never start a war. He was sad that the misunderstanding about Afghanistan.

Our football conference was civilized and thought-provoking. Perhaps I am turning naive in the sentiment of the moment, but I have come to this conclusion: They really believe all this stuff—just as fiercely as I believe what I know to be the truth.

On the heavy matters—on values like freedom and justice and ethics—we do not get enough traction on mutually accepted facts even to conflict properly. I think they suffer not a touch of conscience about abuse of their own citizens, nor consider my notions of democracy absurd.

And because I am now willing to concede that they may not be self-deceiving liars and hypocrites but are the patriotic product of their upside-down world, I concede that my logic and persuasiveness are not going to change their world view one iota.

Perhaps the same thought has occurred to Mr. Reagan. He has been in constant contact with Mr. Gorbachev, who is Comrade Toughguy and Comrade Nieceguy rolled into one.

What if Mr. Reagan concludes, as I have, that his counterpart really believes in his heart of hearts most of what he says, and is not just putting up a rhetorical Potemkin village? In that case, misguided mistrust of the West is not the basic problem and communication is not the cure.

Dialogue can lessen hostility and is necessary to avert miscalculation, but at the core of superpower conflict is something other than misguided mistrust. It is their certitude that their historical mission is to extend their system's dominance to the corners of the Earth—countered by America's responsibility to nurture freedom everywhere. Mutual understanding will not work, not narrow, that path.

You can talk to them. You can like many of them as individuals. But tyranny does not become tolerable because a tyrant or its agents sincerely think it is right. It just becomes more dangerous. Summit meetings should teach us that communication is not all, especially when it reveals the depth of our differences.

"Our goals are the same," gushes the president. Not so. We can hope that both sides' means are peaceful, but we are certain that both sides' ends are untheoretical.

Let us, on all levels of summitry, think our glasses to a candid new era of mutual mistrust, because that will mean that we profoundly understand each other's ultimate aims.

The New York Times

LETTER

The Perils of Smoking

The International Herald Tribune is to be commended for its up-to-the-minute reporting on the serious dangers to health which are posed by smoking cigarettes. ("Smoking: Enduring Among U.S. Women, Now Worst Threat to Their Health," Nov. 12.)

As far as women's health is concerned, it is sad to learn that the National Organization for Women, which claims to represent the interests of women—and what interest is more basic than health?—is unwilling to recognize that smoking is now the "worst threat."

NOW should be working closely with the U.S. Surgeon-General to persuade young women not to take up smoking, instead of accepting advertising from tobacco companies.

I urge editors can bring to an end even the biggest of careers.

LOUISE P. DUDLEY

Vienna

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By William Salter

PARIS — Mr. Salter writes about the new era of mistrust in the world. He discusses the impact of the Vietnam War, the Arab oil embargo, and the general sense of uncertainty that has gripped the international community. He notes that while there is a growing awareness of global issues, there is also a deepening mistrust between nations, which he believes is a significant challenge for the future.

TRAVEL IN

INDIA

A New Era for Travel and Tourism in India

Volumes have been written about India, yet she remains little known. Many, when they think of this vast subcontinent, conjure up a picture that begins and ends with the Taj Mahal. Others imagine that all there is to see is concentrated within the golden triangle that is Delhi, Agra and Jaipur.

It is a false picture. The government of India's Department of Tourism, under the leadership of Dr. N.K. Sengupta, has launched an international campaign aimed at encouraging visitors to discover the rest of this attractive and stimulating country.

Recently he led a top-level delegation of India's tourist-industry professionals to the Middle East. A series of "Friendship Through Tourism" visits is being made to a dozen other countries, while Bombay played host recently to several major European tour operators under the sponsorship of Air-India. A few weeks ago another party of leading U.S. travel agents was entertained by the Oberoi group of hotels.

All were shown at least some of the unending attractions that India has to offer today's traveler. In addition, plans have been prepared to promote conferences and conventions, incentive and business travel, trade fairs and exhibitions.

Dr. Sengupta says: "Tourism

has now emerged as India's largest source of invisible overseas earnings. The latest figures, according to the Reserve Bank of India, show foreign exchange earnings from tourism increasing by more than 6 percent a year. This has led to large increases in those employed in travel and related sectors of the economy such as hotels, restaurants, handicrafts and cultural activities.

"The record budget of approximately \$2 million [\$2.80 million] for the seventh five-year plan for tourism is to be spent exclusively on advertising and promoting India as a tourist destination. The Department of Tourism is looking at a budget that is five times more than last year. An international campaign now beginning says, 'In India, the festival never ends.'"

He adds: "In India there is no off-season."

What quickly becomes clear on arrival in India is that the choice of destinations no longer stops at the Taj Mahal, although nobody should miss seeing this magnificent monument to eternal love at Agra. The delights of Kashmir, the serenity of Goa and the stimulation of treks into the foothills of the Himalayas also wait to be enjoyed.

Says Dr. Sengupta: "Nobody can ever hope to see all of



On Kashmir's Lake Dal, a shikara, or local gondola, makes its way along the luxurious houseboats lining the shore.

India's cultural reminders of a past that stretches back into furthest antiquity. Wherever you go there are temples and palaces that are close to perfection. But that is only one part of the picture. Everywhere throughout the country there are resorts, some in the cool of the mountains, others by warm, golden beaches. As a holiday destination India has become incomparable.

Every first-time traveler to India can be assured that the

modern hotels are not only up to the highest international standards, but are among the finest in the world. The old hill stations at Simla and Darjeeling still welcome today's tourists, not to fan-cooled bungalows, but to modern international hotels.

There is so much to see. How many modern explorers have gazed at the voluptuous temple carvings at Khajuraho? Or taken in Le Corbusier's ultramodern Chandigarh, or in-

spected the edicts of the emperor Ashoka carved in rock at Dhauri, which 25 centuries of sun and rain have failed to obliterate? How many have visited Poona, that legendary habitat of thousands of real and fictional British colonels and colonialists?

The finest collection of South Indian bronzes is in Madras, and Kerala has some of the oldest Christian churches in the world. At Cochin, the so-called Queen of the Arabian

Sea, there are Jewish synagogues, Portuguese churches and Dutch architecture.

The country also abounds in wildlife, thanks to a successful conservation and protectionist policy which has assured the survival of many once-endangered species. At the Corbett National Park in the foothills of the Himalayas, an eight-hour drive from Delhi, the elusive tiger can now be seen in its natural environment. Lions continue to roam and

hunt beneath the sun of Gir Forest in Gujarat state, and the Periyar wildlife sanctuary in Kerala protects herds of elephants and other big game, which can daily be seen drinking and bathing in the quiet waters of the lakes. Two hours by car from Agra, bird lovers can watch more than 300 species of water birds in the Kooladeo Ghana sanctuary.

And what of the Indians themselves? They are a friendly amalgam of races and religions

who, although dissimilar in a hundred ways, have become a single nation. What makes this unity all the more impressive is the increase in population at a rate of one million every four weeks. By the end of the century there may be one billion Indians.

For details on tourism and travel in India contact: The Government of India Tourist Office, 7 Cork Street, London W1X 2AB. Tel. 01-437-3677. —Moss Murray



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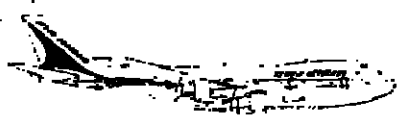
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Smiling, sari-clad hostesses welcome you with folded hands—the namaskaar—

a gesture which means, "my guest is as my god."

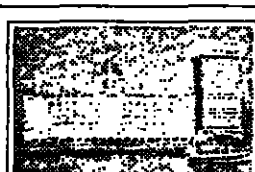

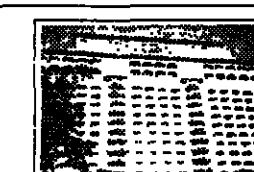



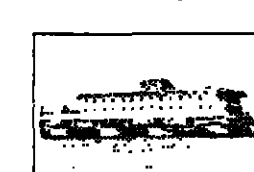
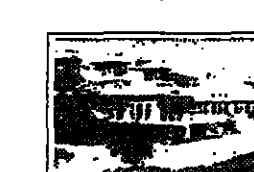
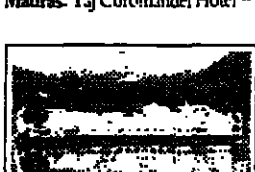
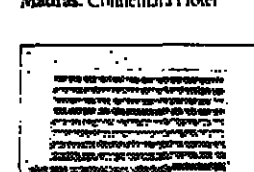


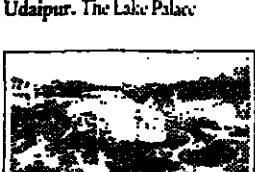



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 Goa. The Aquada Hermitage	 Goa. The Fort Aguada Beach Resort	 Goa. The Taj Holiday Village	 Ooty. Savoy Hotel

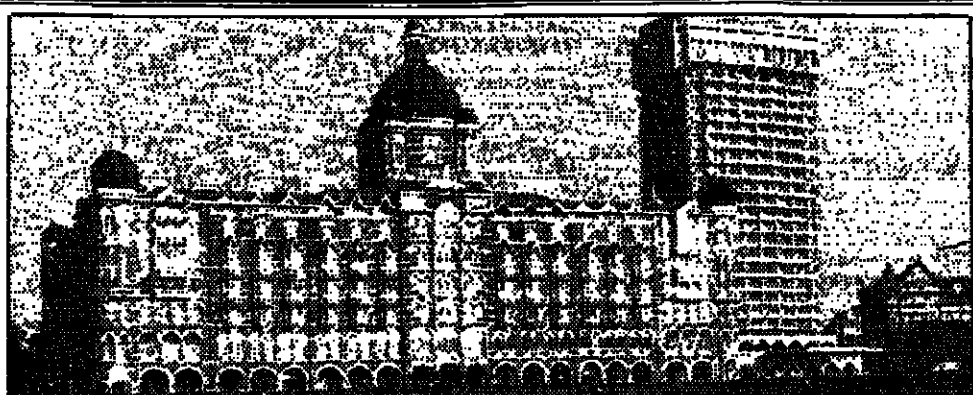
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The Dynamism of Bombay

Bombay is where East meets West. To see the city in the two days most visitors allow, you need a guide with the knowledge, enthusiasm and stamina of Homai (pronounced, she insists, "Oh, my") Mehta, the doyenne of Bombay's travel guides.

With Homai you discover that, despite the growth of

many new commercial enterprises, Bombay's textile mills still produce nearly a third of all the fabrics made in India and that, although the Bombayites account for little more than 1 percent of the country's 700 million people, they pay one third of the nation's income tax.

Not surprisingly, Bombay

has spawned several super-deluxe hotels, of which the 75-year-old Taj Mahal Inter-Continental, already given the accolade of being one of the 12 best hotels in the world, is for many the finest. The luxurious Oberoi Towers, claimed to be the highest building in India with 35 stories, offers immaculate 24-hour service.

By day the wide sweep of the bay shows skyscrapers bristling like a mini-Manhattan; at night the long curve of the harbor outshines Nice in a display of light that has justly earned the title "the queen's necklace."

Only a couple of blocks away are the Dholi Ghats, an entire area given over to the job of washing Bombay's clothes. Homai Mehta confides, "You don't hire your dholi. You inherit him. Mine comes regularly each Monday. Sometimes I give him as many as 50 items. He never marks them... and never makes any mistakes. Everything comes back spotless, with my husband's shirts starched and ironed. How he does it, I don't know."

Bombay's rise to modern fame and fortune began with

the Portuguese. Vasco da Gama was in the area in 1498, and early in the 16th century the Sultan of Gujarat ceded the bay of Bom Bahia to Portugal. The British acquired Bombay through Charles II's marriage to a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza. It was part of her dowry.

Despite congestion and chronic overcrowding, Bombay today boasts parks, a cricket stadium, beaches, an aquarium, libraries and museums.

There are some fascinating sights in the old Crawford Market. All around is a cacophony of cries and calls, shouts, grunts and bursts of laughter.

There is also the Chor Bazaar, or Thieves Market, where according to a local anecdote you can be sold spare parts from your own car. Here Gucci and Dior fakes are passed off as the real thing. Nearby, each day hundreds of customers can be seen choosing jewelry from proffered trays, much as they would select hors d'oeuvres at a cocktail party. The jewelry is mostly chunky, sometimes ostentatious, but always pure gold.

Everywhere in Bombay you find industrious Sikhs, religious Jains, orthodox Jews, hard-working Hindus and Arabs giving tips to hotel staff and beggars that are more than many of them normally earn in a month. There are also Parsis. In Bombay their influence has been out of all proportion to their numbers. Some insist the Parsis have made Bombay what it is.

Three of their many famous names stand out: Tata, whose empire includes hotels, steel mills, trucks and chemicals; Wadia, owner of textile mills; and Godrej, maker of typewriters and electrical equipment. Their philanthropy has built hospitals, schools, rest homes, museums and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research.

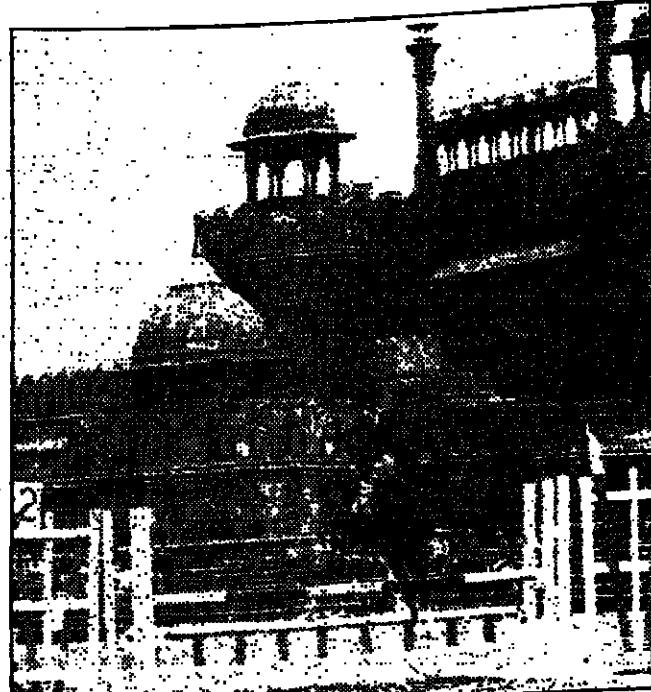
One of the most important buildings in Bombay is at 19 Laburnum Road. This is the house where Gandhi lived. It is now a museum with 28 superbly produced dioramas depicting in great detail highlights from the Mahatma's life. The room where the founder of modern India lived has been preserved, including his spinning wheel.

One excursion every visitor makes while in Bombay is to the Elephanta Island. Approaching the small green island after an hour's boat ride, the traveler has little idea what to expect. All is quickly revealed at the end of a climb up a hundred gently sloping steps.

The massive cave carvings at Elephanta are among the unsung wonders of the world. Each 25-foot-high (7.5-meter) frieze is a fantasy of intricate figurative detail which, despite being nearly 1,500 years old and having been used by Portuguese troops as targets for rifle practice, remain bewilderingly lovely.

Inside this cave temple is art of the highest quality, which deserves to rank with the finest carvings and sculptures in Greece or Egypt. Bombay, like India, is full of surprises.

The Delights of Delhi



Horse Show, Red Fort, Delhi.

Delhi, India's capital city, is a double delight. It is two cities in one. The first presents itself as you drive in from the airport: a forest of green interspersed with the homes of industrialists, the enclaves of embassies, and nine or 10 modern hotels. The second is a sea of people constantly being jostled and harried, yet never quite losing their inherent cheerfulness.

New Delhi remains distinctly British. Old Delhi could only be in India. In the former the old imperialism remains; in the latter the feel of 5,000 years of turbulent history is everywhere in the narrow, over-crowded streets and alleyways.

It was in 1911 that the British laid the foundations of New Delhi to glorify the empire. This imperial complex, designed largely by Sir Edwin Lutyens, became the headquarters of the British Raj in Asia. It is now the capital of the new Republic of India.

Parliament House, a vast circular building rimmed by an

open colonnade, the massive secretariat blocks and the Vice-regal Lodge crown the impressive, arrow-straight Rajpath, an avenue as magnificent in its majesty as the Champs-Élysées in Paris or London's Mall.

One end of the Rajpath is the India Gate, a memorial to the Indian army dead of World War I, and modeled on the Menin Gate in Belgium; at the other end is the home of the head of the world's largest democracy.

The best shopping is around Connaught Place, but do not expect Bond Street, Fifth Avenue or the Via Condotti. India is not part of the West, but a gateway to Asia. The shops in Connaught Place are not department stores, but small family-owned businesses selling everything from expensive jewelry to cheap souvenirs.

Minutes away, you are transported back to the Mogul magnificence of the Jama Masjid, India's largest mosque, welcoming you to Old Delhi. Its cloistered courtyard can hold as

many as 20,000 of the faithful when they come to pray.

But most visitors are first taken to the Qutb Minar, a 234-foot (70-meter) 13th-century minaret which is a unique and near-perfect example of tower architecture. Its builder must have been a mathematical genius; it has stood for eight centuries. Its sides are alive with intricately carved quotations from the Koran which get larger as the tower grows higher, so that from the ground it is as easy to read the words at the top as those at the bottom.

Close to the minaret is another of Delhi's curiosities. This is the famous iron pillar that stands in what was once the courtyard of a mosque. It has been there since the fifth century. What makes it an object of interest is that throughout 1,500 years it has remained rust-free... and nobody knows how or why.

Humayun's tomb is another must for every traveler to Delhi. Built in the 16th century, it marks the beginning of a great period in Mogul architecture which culminated in the glorious Taj Mahal. Both are memorials to love. The tomb in Delhi was built by a wife for her emperor husband; the one at Agra is a husband's everlasting tribute to his wife.

Before leaving Delhi most visitors make a pilgrimage to the black marble simplicity of Gandhi's tomb. It is a place of tranquil beauty.

Now, sadly, there is another shrine to be visited. The house where Prime Minister Indira Gandhi lived, worked and was assassinated has been turned into a place of remembrance. Here people come in the hundreds to pay their respects.

Nobody can think of this scene as a delight. Yet it is part of the never-ending story of Delhi and India, a tale equally divided between turbulence and haunting beauty.

Goa Offers Beaches and a Touch of Europe

Sitting beneath a swaying palm with nothing to disturb the stillness except the sound of the Arabian Sea lapping the sand is an experience in tranquility. Today there are not many resorts where you can be by yourself, alone with tropical nature. Goa is one of them.

The atmosphere—distinct yet indefinable—makes Goa a place apart. It is Europe in the tropics. The influence of the Portuguese, who ruled here for more than 450 years, is everywhere. Nearly 40 percent of the population is Christian.

When the Portuguese conquered the area it quickly earned for itself the name Goa Duorada—Golden Goa. But the Europeans had not arrived solely for trade. They were determined to spread the Catholic faith. When persuasion failed they issued decrees that made it virtually impossible for a Hindu to practice his religion even in the privacy of his own home.

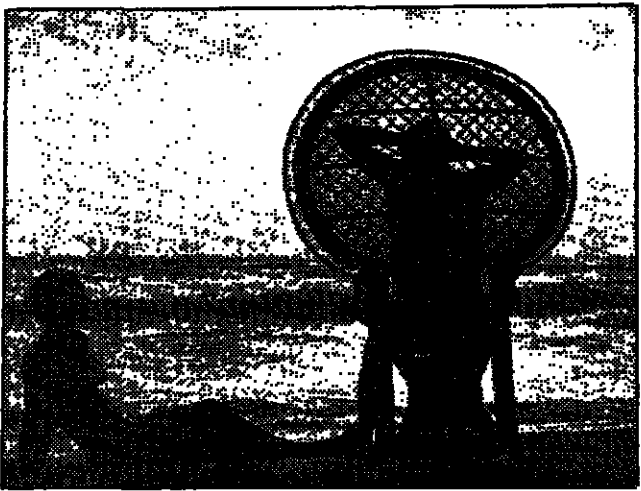
They built churches and destroyed temples. And in 1560 the Inquisition arrived. Many families fled the terror. Trade languished and Portugal's power in Europe began to weaken. By the 18th century much of the glory of Goa had faded.

Yet a touch of Europe remains in the churches and in the piazzas where the grandees of old took their evening promenades.

It is the churches that command the attention of the visitors and make the region different from the rest of India. The church of Our Lady of the Rosary, built in 1543, is one of the best surviving examples of Renaissance architecture. From the same period (1527) is the two-story facade of the Church of St. Francis of Assisi, crowned with two octagonal towers.

Equally fine is the Cathedral of Goa, begun in 1562 but not completed until 1652. It is a grand example of a Renaissance cathedral, with the ceiling in the form of a barrel vault and the ribs on arches. The wooden altarpiece, painted in gold leaf, is the finest in India.

The Basilica of Bom Jesus, the most celebrated sanctuary



in Goa, is a one-nave shrine. One of the highlights of any visit is the mausoleum of St. Francis Xavier.

During the coming months more visitors will visit Goa than ever before. The first inaugural flight from Germany is due to touch down at the local airport early next month with 200 holidaymakers. They will be followed by regular charters each week via Concorde, the charter subsidiary of Lufthansa, until the end of April.

There are hotels to suit every pocket. At the top of the list is the Taj Group's Fort Aguada Beach Resort. Nestling by Calangute Beach, it offers individual luxury villas, some with lounge, dining room and bedroom plus two bathrooms, others with two bedrooms, and

rambling tropical Mediterranean-style cottages. There are also 88 air-conditioned rooms in the main block.

Much nearer, and more convenient to the airport, are two more first-class tropical hotels. The Oberoi Bogmalo Beach is just five minutes from Dabolim Airport, and only a few minutes away is the Majorda Beach resort, which cools you the moment you enter. It almost seems to be a hotel without walls. Wherever you stand, sea breezes waft in.

Goa is as near idyllic as any holiday location can be. Nature has been prolific and kind. The people are gentle and warm. Hospitality and friendliness reign.

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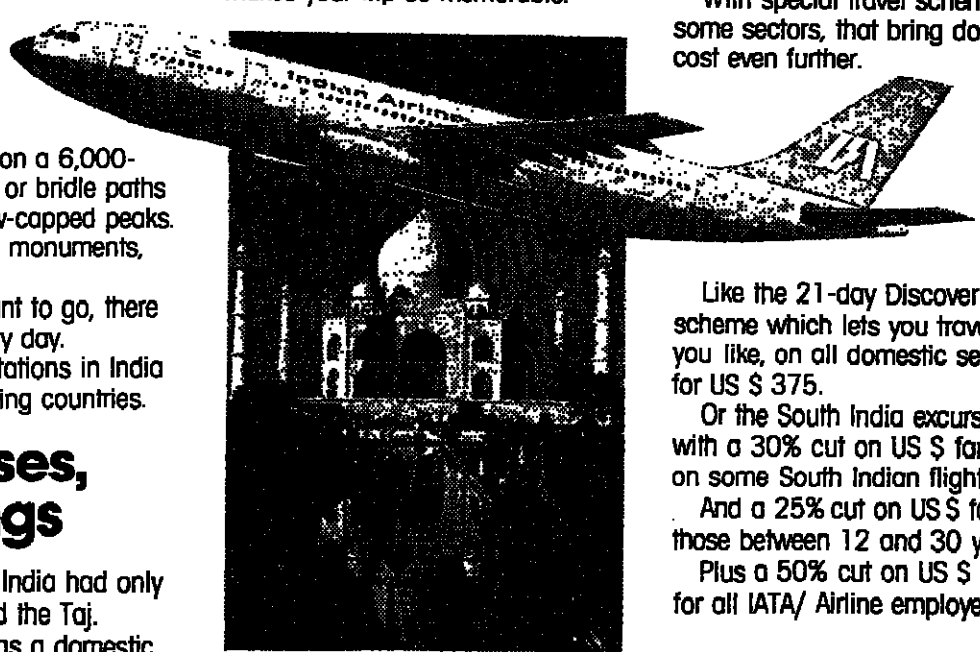
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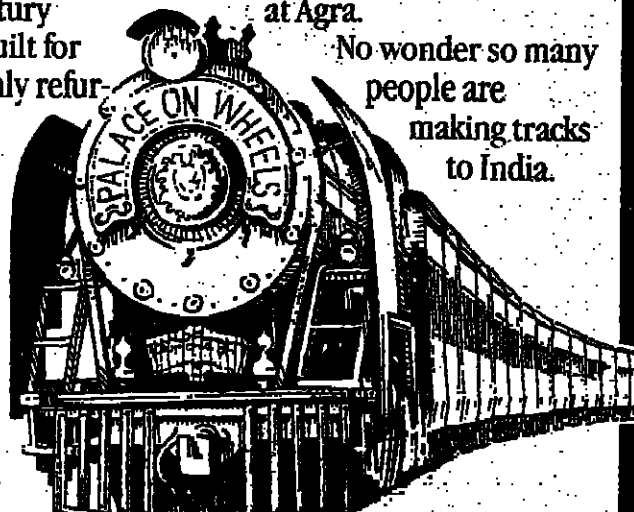
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INTERNATIONAL MANAGER

Bonuses, and Their Dangers, Are Taking Hold in Europe

By SHERRY BUCHANAN

PARIS — More European executives are getting cash bonuses when their companies do well, and many of those bonuses are getting bigger. But for the companies, bonuses are being revealed as less than miracle cures for sagging profits.

According to some European compensation consulting firms, which counsel companies on salaries, bonuses and other benefits, an increasing number of companies in Britain, France, Italy and West Germany are giving executives bonuses linked to group, subsidiary or division performance. Some are linking bonuses to individual performance.

According to a worldwide survey on pay and benefits by PA Personnel Services, the London-based remuneration consultants, 67 percent of British companies have bonus plans linked to performance this year, compared with only 33 percent in 1977.

This figure still lags behind that of the United States, where 95 percent of U.S. companies have such bonus plans.

In France, according to Towers, Perrin, Forster & Crosby Inc., the French branch of the U.S. remuneration consultants, 65 percent of all French managers get some kind of executive bonus linked to performance.

Despite their increasing use of them, companies are finding that executive cash bonuses alone are not likely to change ingrained practices. In addition, as the bonuses grow, sometimes to more than 50 percent of base salary, unions and shareholders wonder whether the executives deserve them.

"Executive bonuses are highly overrated," said Tom Peters, U.S. management guru and co-author of the best-selling book "In Search of Excellence," which analyzed 10 top U.S. performers. "Executive bonuses didn't appear as a major part of what good companies did," Mr. Peters said. "In a company that is in reasonably good shape, it isn't a great motivator. In companies that are hopeless bureaucracies, you need something to wake them up."

"But it is no panacea," Mr. Peters continued. "Putting a performance bonus on is not going to compensate for a hopeless bureaucracy. Top executives will just start running around with their heads cut off in ever-decreasing circles."

In addition, some European executives, especially in large companies, who are accustomed to a relatively risk-free job may lose motivation once the bonus starts shrinking.

"The trouble in Britain is that many of the bonus schemes were introduced at the bottom of the cycle," said Tony Vernon-Harcourt, a remuneration adviser with Monks Partnership and author of "Top Management Remuneration 1985-1986," a survey that draws on annual reports of 1,200 companies and on salary and benefit surveys of 3,000 posts in 400 companies.

"There have been three good years of increasing profits, but what will happen when there is a downturn in profits?" Mr. Vernon-Harcourt said. "It could be an awful demotivator. Executives start living on their bonus, get used to the skiing holiday and the extra car for the wife."

Average bonuses in Europe are still relatively low compared to those in the United States, but the number of companies paying as much as 60 percent of base salary, or offering open-ended bonus plans, is increasing.

PA has estimated the average bonus to be 20 percent in Italy and 9 to 13 percent in Britain. This compares with a U.S. average

(Continued on Page 15, Col. 1)

As bonuses grow, shareholders wonder whether executives deserve them.

Bayer Sees Record '85 Profits

Boom Is Cited In Foreign Sales

Reuters

LEVERKUSEN, West Germany — Bayer AG, one of West Germany's three biggest chemicals companies, expects record profits in 1985 for the second consecutive year because of a continued boom in worldwide sales, its chairman, Hermann Strenger, said Tuesday.

Speaking at a press conference, Mr. Strenger also said that the 1985 dividend would at least equal 1984's payout of 9 Deutsche marks (\$3.51), but gave no details.

Mr. Strenger said that sales had jumped nearly 10 percent to 35.5 billion DM in the first nine months of 1985, up 9.5 percent from the 32.43 billion DM in the 1984 period.

He said they should rise to more than 46 billion DM by the end of the year, up from 43.03 billion in 1984.

Bayer's world-group pretax profit rose to 2.51 billion DM in the first nine months of 1985, up 14.1 percent from the 2.20 billion DM of the 1984 period.

Parent-company volume in the first nine months rose 9.8 percent to 13.56 billion DM, with foreign volume up 11.2 percent and domestic volume up 5.9 percent.

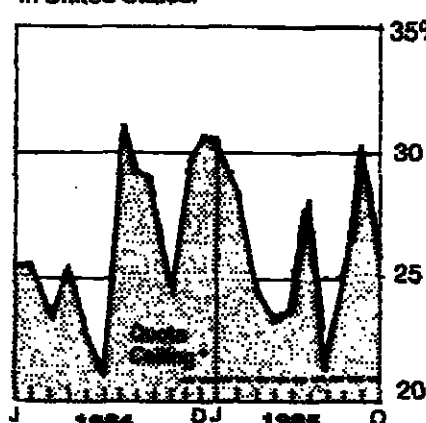
In 1984, Bayer, whose products range from industrial chemicals to pharmaceuticals, reported record world-group pretax profit of 2.9 billion DM, increase of 34.3 percent from 1983, on sales of 43 billion DM.

Along with its major West German rivals, Hoechst AG and BASF AG, Bayer continued to record increases in foreign sales, especially in North America, where volume rose 11.6 percent to 8.7 billion DM. North America is Bayer's second largest market after Europe, where volume rose 7.5 percent to 17.9 billion DM.

Mr. Strenger declined to be specific on dividend payments, although he said that Bayer had a policy of paying a "good" dividend when results were satisfactory, and of making adjustments when they worsened.

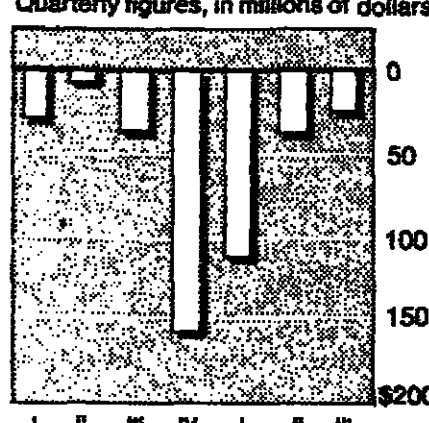
Separately, a Bayer report released Tuesday said that foreign ownership in the group rose to 39.1 percent in 1985, from 31.5 percent in 1981. Increased British and U.S. interest accounted for most of the rise.

Imported Steel As percentage of total supply in United States.



* Oct. 1: President Reagan's voluntary quota agreement placing ceiling of imports at 20.5 percent. Source: Iron and Steel Institute

LTV's operating losses from its steel division Quarterly figures, in millions of dollars



LTV Upholding Steel Commitment

By Thomas C. Hayes

DALLAS — Already under pressure from cheap steel imports, LTV Corp. chose to double its bet on steel: In 1983, it agreed to acquire Republic Steel Corp., reasoning that by using the best operations from Republic and its own Jones & Laughlin steel unit, it could fashion a more efficient operation to compete with foreign rivals.

Its timing could not have been worse. The second-largest U.S. steelmaker, after United States Steel Corp., has slashed production costs. But steel imports have actually risen since it struck the agreement with Republic, and prices are lower, keeping LTV Steel mired in red ink.

Its losses over the last four years total \$1.36 billion. And with analysts forecasting little change in steel demand through 1986, LTV has been pressed into selling some profitable assets and delaying some major debt in an effort to outlast its frustrating cash squeeze.

"Instead of moving into a growing market, or at least a stagnant market with a growing share, we entered the market at a time it was plunging," said Raymond A. Hay, LTV's chairman and chief executive. "Foreign steel has bombed the market."

Still, Mr. Hay called the acquisition of Republic "a good decision" and said he and LTV believe that the company could outlast its unrelenting cash problems and that their gamble would ultimately pay off.

"A lot of people like to think that we made a mistake" in buying Republic, Mr. Hay said. "But we have the potential to be a better steel company with Republic."

LTV actually considered getting out of the steel business when Republic approached it with a purchase offer in 1983, but elected instead to buy out Republic for \$770 million in new stock. The agreement prompted a yearlong review before it was approved by the U.S. Justice Department, and it took effect in June 1984.

Until LTV's steel ambitions are realized, however, the burden of providing earnings falls on the company's non-steel operations. Its fast-growing aerospace and defense unit is a major subcontractor for the B-1 and Stealth bombers and has benefited from stepped-up Pentagon spending on President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. Last year the unit — which Charles A.

(Continued on Page 19, Col. 5)

Texaco Chief Sees Difficulty In Raising Bond

The Associated Press

DALLAS — Texaco Inc. may not be able to post the bond necessary to appeal a jury judgment that is nearly \$2 billion more than the company's stock market value, Texaco's president was quoted as saying in a published report.

Nevertheless, the company believes the award may not withstand a pending judicial review, which would make the question moot, a statement released Tuesday said.

The statement came as Wall Street, in apparent reaction to the remarks by Texaco's president, Alfred C. DeCrane Jr., went on a selling binge that forced a temporary suspension of trading in Texaco stock.

Last week, after a four-month trial, Houston jurors decided Texaco should pay Pennzoil Co. a record \$10.3 billion. They said that Texaco improperly enticed Getty Oil Co. to back out of a merger last year with Pennzoil. Texaco subsequently acquired Getty for \$10.2 billion.

An appeal of that judgment could require Texaco to post a \$12-billion bond, a sum beyond the oil company's ability to pay, Mr. DeCrane was quoted as saying Monday by The Dallas Morning News.

Texaco, which is based in White Plains, New York, and is the third largest U.S. oil company based on annual revenue, has a current stock market value of \$8.6 billion.

Under state law, a defendant must post a bond equal to an award plus attorneys' fees and interest to appeal a judgment.

"If a \$12-billion bond is required — Texaco doesn't have \$12 billion and in my opinion, probably can't get it — then we'd have to look for some heroic measure, whether it's Chapter 11 or whatever," Mr. DeCrane was quoted as saying.

Under Chapter 11 of the U.S. bankruptcy code, a company restructures while it works out a way to pay its debts.

Mr. DeCrane's comment drew a heavy reaction on Wall Street. Trading in Texaco was halted on the New York Stock Exchange for 59 minutes in the morning because of an imbalance in buy and sell orders after falling \$1.75 a share to \$32.50 on heavy volume. Trading continued to be heavy and Texaco closed at \$32.25, down \$2.

State District Judge Solomon

Cashe Jr. of Houston has scheduled a hearing for Dec. 5 to listen to attorneys' arguments on whether he should affirm the jury's verdict and award.

In a statement, the company noted that the district court may fully or partially grant Texaco's motion seeking reversal of the verdict.

Later the company said: "Obviously a Chapter 11 proceeding would be a very extreme step that would only arise as a possibility after all other legal remedies had been exhausted."

BHP Acquires Monsanto Oil For \$745 Million

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MELBOURNE — Broken Hill Pty. took another step Tuesday toward becoming a major international oil concern with a \$745-million purchase of Monsanto Oil Co. from Monsanto Co., the chemicals group based in Houston.

The agreement involves all Monsanto's oil and gas interests except those in Britain, which Monsanto Co. plans to sell off separately.

The purchase was the second by BHP of a U.S. oil company in the past year, following its takeover earlier this year of Energy Reserves Group Inc. for \$504 million.

The acquisition of Monsanto Oil will give BHP additional North American reserves of nearly 74 million barrels of oil, and 730 billion cubic feet (20.9 billion cubic meters) of natural gas in the United States and Canada, BHP said.

Monsanto also has large exploration areas in both countries, as well as properties that may be explored in Colombia.

Stock analysts hailed the move as another example of BHP's strategy of building up oil reserves, particularly in North America where they are cheap because of expectations of low oil prices.

BHP is Australia's largest crude oil producer, in partnership with Exxon Corp.

(Reuters, AFP)

Currency Rates

Cross Rates

	Nov. 26
Australian dollar	1.5275
Belgian franc	36.36
British pound	1.6375
Canadian dollar	0.7125
Deutsche mark	1.7875
French franc	6.55
Italian lira	136.7
Japanese yen	163.6
Netherlands guilder	3.603
New Zealand dollar	0.4775
Portuguese escudo	200.48
Spanish peseta	166.64
Swedish krona	8.46
Swiss franc	1.736
Thai baht	24.64
West German mark	1.7875
Yen	163.6

Other Dollar Values

	Nov. 26
Australia	1.5275
Belgium	36.36
Canada	0.7125
France	6.55
Germany	1.7875
Italy	136.7
Japan	163.6
Netherlands	3.603
New Zealand	0.4775
Portugal	200.48
Spain	166.64
Sweden	8.46
Switzerland	1.736
Thailand	24.64
West Germany	1.7875
Yugoslavia	134.7

Source: Reuters. Rates are for U.S. dollars per unit of foreign currency. All rates are for 100 units of foreign currency unless otherwise indicated. All rates are for 100 units of foreign currency unless otherwise indicated. All rates are for 100 units of foreign currency unless otherwise indicated.

Interest Rates

Key Money Rates Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	7 1/8%
3 months	7 1/4%
6 months	7 1/4%
1 year	7 1/4%

Asian Dollar Deposits Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	8 1/8%
3 months	8 1/8%
6 months	8 1/8%
1 year	8 1/8%

U.S. Money Market Funds Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	7 1/8%
3 months	7 1/4%
6 months	7 1/4%
1 year	7 1/4%

Gold Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	371.50
3 months	371.50
6 months	371.50
1 year	371.50

U.S. Money Market Funds Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	7 1/8%
3 months	7 1/4%
6 months	7 1/4%
1 year	7 1/4%

Gold Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	371.50
3 months	371.50
6 months	371.50
1 year	371.50

U.S. Money Market Funds Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	7 1/8%
3 months	7 1/4%
6 months	7 1/4%
1 year	7 1/4%

Gold Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	371.50
3 months	371.50
6 months	371.50
1 year	371.50

U.S. Money Market Funds Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	7 1/8%
3 months	7 1/4%
6 months	7 1/4%
1 year	7 1/4%

Gold Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	371.50
3 months	371.50
6 months	371.50
1 year	371.50

U.S. Money Market Funds Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	7 1/8%
3 months	7 1/4%
6 months	7 1/4%
1 year	7 1/4%

Gold Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	371.50
3 months	371.50
6 months	371.50
1 year	371.50

U.S. Money Market Funds Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	7 1/8%
3 months	7 1/4%
6 months	7 1/4%
1 year	7 1/4%

Gold Nov. 26

	Nov. 26
1 month	371.50
3 months	371.50
6 months	371.50
1 year	371.50

Factory Orders Fell 2.1% in U.S. During October

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Slack demand for military hardware caused U.S. factory orders for durable goods to fall 2.1 percent in October, the third decline in the last four months and the biggest drop since July, the Commerce Department reported Tuesday.

It said that orders totaled \$104.4 billion last month, a \$2.2-billion decline from September. The drop followed a 0.9-percent decline in September and was the largest setback since a 2.3-percent fall in July.

The weakness was attributed to another big drop in demand for military equipment. Military orders fell 26.6 percent last month after dropping 21.1 percent in September. But analysts cautioned that the defense category is volatile and future orders are likely to rise because of the Reagan administration's military buildup.

In other economic news, a University of Michigan survey found that 25 percent of all families expected economic improvement, down from 33 percent a year earlier and the all-time high of 52 percent in the second quarter of 1983.

U.S. Banks Lend to Soviet for First Time in 5 Years

By Peter T. Kilborn

WASHINGTON — For reasons that analysts attribute partly to the spirit of the Reagan-Gorbachev talks but more to serious strains on the Soviet economy, U.S. banks have started lending to the Russians again after a five-year hiatus.

Without the ceremony that often accompanies such transactions, four of the biggest U.S. banks, First National City of Chicago, Morgan Guaranty, Bankers Trust and Irving Trust, plus a London subsidiary of Royal Bank of Canada, agreed early this month to lend the Soviet Union up to \$400 million at unusually low interest rates to buy American and Canadian grain.

This week, those banks are inviting scores of others to share in the loan.

In relation to the tens of billions of dollars that American banks have lent to countries such as Mexico and Argentina, it is a small amount. But it is enormous in terms of U.S. lending to the Soviet Union, one of the world's major debtor countries through borrowings from European and Japanese banks.

This single transaction exceeds the total of the Soviet debt to American banks by \$125 million, and bankers and international economists suspect that much greater amounts are likely.

"It means that American banks are beginning to get back in business with the Soviet Union," said Ed A. Hewett, a specialist in Soviet affairs at the Brookings Institution, a research organization in Washington.

A senior officer of one of the American banks said, "My guess is that this kind of lending is going to get bigger."

After the Soviet Union's 1979 intervention in Afghanistan, U.S. lending to Moscow, which was never very large, dried up. Even now, the banks are trading carefully.

Jan Vanous, a specialist in Soviet economics and a consultant in Washington, said that the loan was supporting grain sales at a time of decline in the U.S. farm economy. "This loan is about as safe a justification as you can get," he said. "It can hardly be criticized."

Bankers involved in the loan said the atmosphere of easier communication leading up to the Geneva negotiations lubricated the banks' deliberations with the borrower, the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank.

For the Soviet Union, a more compelling consideration was the state of its economy. To raise foreign exchange, it normally relies on the export of oil, of which it is the world's No. 1 producer.

For several years, however, world oil prices have been plung-

ing. On top of that, the Russians have encountered severe production difficulties.

Production has declined from 12.3 million barrels a day to an estimated 11.8 million. Economists estimate that Soviet foreign exchange earnings this year have dropped by \$2 billion or \$3 billion, to a point where for the first time during the 1980s the country faces a deficit in its hard currency transactions.

The recent decline in world interest rates and favorable terms on the new loan contributed to the Soviet decision to borrow, economists said.

The interest rate on the loan is one-quarter of a percentage point above the London interbank offered rate, currently 8 1/4 percent, which is the basis for most international lending.

First National Bank of Chicago has a long history of dealing with Eastern Europe through grain-export financing.

Earlier this year, First National Bank of Chicago, the group leader, led another group that made a \$200-million loan to Moscow. Except for the Chicago bank, none of the banks were American.

Mr. Vanous said he expected the Russians' foreign-exchange diffi-

culties to persist for several years and that they will therefore have to continue borrowing substantial amounts.

Because of the Soviet debt-payment record, banks in the United States and elsewhere are competing aggressively to share in the business. But eventually, some economists warn, the Russians, like the big Latin American debtors, could run into payment difficulties.

Their oil problem is a long-term problem, Mr. Hewett said. "It isn't a big deal. A couple of years down the road the banks are going to get nervous."

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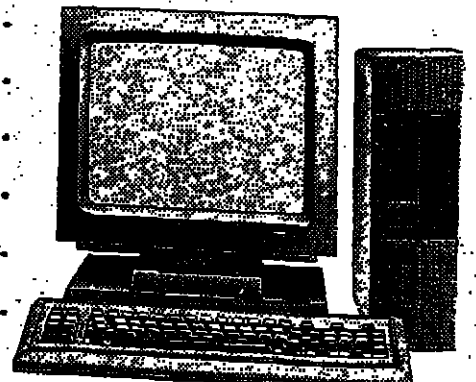
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12 Month		Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	5y. 100s	Close	
High	Low						High	Low

(Continued from Page 16)

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BOOKS

BRIDGE

Phillips Quits Saints In Shakeup

NEW ORLEANS — Bum Phillips abruptly resigned as head coach of the New Orleans Saints late Monday, forfeiting the final three years and \$1.5 million of his contract.

Team president Eddie Jones, director of football operations Pat Pepper and public relations director Greg Sutt also resigned at the request of the team's new owner, Tom Benson, who said he will take over as president/general manager.

Phillips was 27-42 in four-plus seasons at New Orleans (the Saints are 4-8 this year) and 86-80 for his career in the NFL. His son Wade, the team's defensive coordinator, was named interim head coach.

"Winning is the American way," said Phillips, "and I'm glad it is. It was winning that enabled me to go from Class AA high school in Texas to two head coach and general manager jobs in the National Football League. My job here was to provide a winning season, and I didn't do that."

Benson said it was Phillips's decision to resign. "I didn't ask for it," he said. "He told me he was doing it for the good of the club, the good of the city and for me."

He said he fired Pepper, Jones and Sutt "just to get it all done so we're all going in the same direction. We're not going to have anybody who was associated with the old club."



Ozzie Guillen: In the tradition of Carrasquel and Aparicio.

Shortstop Guillen Voted American's Top Rookie

CHICAGO — Ozzie Guillen, the exuberant rookie who cost the Chicago White Sox a Cy Young winner but paid unexpected hitting and fielding dividends, was named the American League's rookie of the year on Monday.

"I can only happen to you one time in baseball," said Guillen, after learning of the voting by the Baseball Writers' Association of America.

"I'm excited and I'm happy that I was able to help the White Sox and do enough to be voted this award," the 21-year-old shortstop said by telephone from his native Venezuela.

Guillen committed only 12 errors in 150 games last season, the fewest of any regular American League shortstop; a left-hander, he batted .273.

He came to the White Sox last December in a seven-player deal that sent right-handed pitcher LaMar Hoyt, the 1983 Cy Young award winner, to San Diego along with two minor-leaguers for Guillen, pitcher Tim Lollar, infielder Luis Salazar and a minor-league pitcher.

Guillen received 16 of the 28 first-place votes from two writers in each of the 14 league cities — for 101 total points. Ted Higuera, the left-handed pitcher of the Milwaukee Brewers, was second with 9 first-place votes and 67 points. Higuera had a 15-8 record and 3.90 earned-run average, allowing 186 hits in 212 1/3 innings while striking out 127 and walking 63.

Third was another Brewer, infielder Ernest Riles, who got 29 points; followed by outfielder Ozzie McDowell of Texas, 25 points; pitcher Steve Curnan of California, 16; pitcher Brian Fisher of New York, 7; pitcher Tom Henke of Toronto, 5; and catcher Mark Salas of Minnesota, 2.

McDowell, Curnan and Henke got the other first-place votes. A first-place vote counted five points, with three awarded for second and one for third.

"Of course I thought about the award, but most important was what I was able to do for the team," Guillen said. "My biggest thrill was getting the game-winning RBI in Tom Seaver's 300th win."

"He did not play like a 21-year-old rookie," said Chicago's manager, Tony LaRussa. "He played like a seasoned veteran. He far exceeded our expectations. We expected him to hit about .240 and provide us with some solid defense."

Guillen is the third Venezuelan, after Chico Carrasquel and Luis Aparicio, to play shortstop for the White Sox and is the club's fifth rookie of the year winner. The others were Ron Kittle in 1963, Tommie Agee in 1966, Gary Peters in 1963 and Aparicio in 1956.

Guillen was a .308 hitter in four minor-league seasons, but he began the 1985 season slowly. He batted just .210 through June 10, but he hit .302 the rest of the way. He walked only 12 times and stole seven bases, struck out 36 times and scored 71 runs in 491 at-bats.

John McEnroe Meets the Press

MELBOURNE — With Tuesday's second day of play at the Australian Open washed out by rain, the spotlight fell upon John McEnroe, who filled it amply.

The world's No. 2-ranked tennis player showed a reporter over the back of a sofa and onto its cushion and spat at a photographer after they asked him if he planned to marry his actress-girlfriend, Tatum O'Neal.

"I get the same question all around the world," McEnroe yelled as he pushed Geoff Eastwood, a writer for The Melbourne Herald.

McEnroe then spat at News Limited photographer Mike Potter, who spat back.

Eastwood said he had asked McEnroe if he would have his photograph taken with O'Neal. "Then," Eastwood reported, "he asked me to leave the hotel. I told him I wasn't going to be ordered around by him."

"He then went off the deep end... He pushed me across the room, grabbed me by the throat and tore my shirt collar. But people started to gather, and he backed off."

At a 45-minute news conference following the incident, McEnroe said: "The guy came to start something. I moved him to one side, and then suddenly I'm supposed to have assaulted him and he's physically beat up."

During the conference, McEnroe, giving polite and considered responses, denied having married O'Neal and that she was pregnant. "That's not true," he said. "At the moment, nothing has been decided. At some point we are going to get married, but I honestly don't know when that will be."

He also said that he was unfairly treated by the media. "I have to deal with 10 times more amount of stuff than any other player," he said, adding that he had been particularly angry by reports he had married O'Neal. "Why do I have to continue to deny it here?"

McEnroe, 26, said that despite his anger he was "happier than I've ever been in my life. I appreciate a lot of what I have. I know that without tennis I wouldn't have all these advantages."

McEnroe said he did not think it likely that he would quit tennis any time soon. "I'm not saying I'm going to retire. I'm just saying there are times when it gets to you a lot more than at other times."

"I mean, the world's not going to come to an end for me if I don't win the Australian Open. I really wish I could say that if I was harassed one more time, I would walk away," McEnroe said. "But I can't. I love playing tennis and these are things I have to deal with."

"The incident at the hotel was a prime example. I'm here to play tennis. But people don't give you a chance. Being a celebrity like I am is like being raped. You can't do anything about it. There's absolutely nothing you can do about it."

As to the overall business at hand, open officials said that Tuesday's rained-out program would be played Wednesday. Only 14 matches were completed Monday, when heavy showers halted play.



McEnroe and reporter, after a few ups and downs.

The Striking Transformation of an Ugly Duckling

LONDON — One of the pleasures of soccer is to watch a misfit grow into the link, the playmaker, the finest team in all the land. Classic Hans Christian Andersen, but fairy tales do sometimes come true in the real world.

Jan Molby, currently striding Liverpool back to the summit of English soccer, will have to bear our repeated references to the stories of his late countryman. It's a natural enough reflex. As we discover the hidden beauty in Molby's play, and the fact that he was born where Andersen was born, in Kolding near Odense, the connection is irresistible.

Better mention the ugly duckling here and now and get it over with. Barely half a year ago, in that dreadful Hays Stadium affair, midfielder Molby was not thought good enough as even a substitute the night Liverpool lost the European Cup. His career was a struggle, as it had been with Ajax of Amsterdam, for which he was also surplus before Liverpool stunned European soccer by laying out £200,000 (about \$290,000) for him. "It was also a bit of a joke back home," says the big fellow, "me going to Liverpool."

The joke persisted this September as Liverpool, offering him a fresh start, began the new season fitfully. Critics hounded in on Molby's apparent immobility, his typically heavy Scandinavian bulk of nearly 200 pounds (90.7 kilograms) pressed into a 6-foot-1 frame (1.85 meters).

"The late Dane," they called him behind his broad back. One distinguished scribe went so far as to suggest Molby possibly had an international future — playing darts.

As the frenzy of British runners darted past, the ugly duckling might have sunk without trace. He admits that last season he just wanted to get rid of the ball — pass it safely to a red shirt, and hide.

But players of genuine top-class caliber are rarely deceived when they rub shoulders with talent. Kenny Dalglish and Phil Neal, Liverpool's senior pros, knew Molby's ability from training, if not first-team experience. They told him that it took patience to blend into the machine. They urged what is known as the backroom Liverpool motto: Keep going, keep trying, keep believing.

Deep down there was belief, although Molby must have felt foreign. "Striking the ball sweetly," he says, "is one of the nicest things in football. I've always felt." The English, barring the few, tend to belt it unmercifully.

Curiously, Molby drew encouragement watching not Liverpool but its nearest and dearest neighbor, Everton. Last season Everton won the English championship and the European Cup Winners' Cup, eclipsing the red shadow for the first time in 14 years. Sweet-timing the ball for the blues, whose stadium is 400 meters from Liverpool's, was Kevin Sheedy, an Irishman discarded by Liverpool.

Times and needs change. This season, finding at last the forceful man who could bring out the best in Molby, Liverpool bought Steve McMahon, whose first 100 games had all been as an Evertonian.

This intricacy trading, this interaction around a Dane so few understood, followed the departure of perhaps the most complete midfielder Liverpool has ever had, Graeme Souness, was Molby privately concedes, Molby rolled into one. Souness, now with Sampdoria in Italy, can strike the ball sweetly, but also has bite in the tackle to win it.

Molby generally passes on the tacking bit; McMahon, though four inches shorter and 24 pounds smaller, is the minder, blessed with the Souness hard-man streak.

So instead of being an outcast, Molby now finds the team being built around him. Coming forward, he can be an awesome presence, a long-striding juggernaut, difficult to shift off the ball, capable of suddenly opening out play with 40-meter passes that in England are wholly unsuspected.

His sweet-striking has lately been converted into goals — from loose play, from free kicks, from penalties. The joy that he visibly exudes in caressing the ball is something that grew up with him.

At six he was taken under the wing of the Kolding club. By adolescence he was part of the Danish elite youth system, encouraged to express himself, allowed to experiment with his talent while his counterparts in Britain were mostly herded into systematized, pressurized games where result mattered more than performance.

He is out there now doing his thing, and proving a gilt-edged, double-edged investment. Dalglish, the confident who this summer became Liverpool's manager, has started to use the Danish gift for improvisation in ways that sometimes bewilder the opposition.

Threaten Liverpool with excessive pace in attack, and you are likely to find Molby operating not in midfield but in his old role as defensive sweeper, using his eye and his ability to read and intercept play. Go timorously to Liverpool, and Molby is given full creative license to exploit your defense.

Darts player indeed. We are beginning to warm to the big Dane — and he to us, now that his place on Denmark's World Cup team is becoming assured. And, at 22, he is still learning his own game.

The strange thing is that the Netherlands, which once loved Wim van Hanegem, its own strolling minstrel, let him go: that the Bundesliga, which produced Gunter Netzer, whose 40-meter passes were once almost too visionary for his colleagues, has not pounced.

Or even that England, which got superb mileage out of Trevor Brooking, another slow sweeper of midfield quality, took so long to appreciate that while soccer is played with the feet, its greater artists create with the brain. Denmark may be the land of fairy tales, but Britain by tradition does not clip the wings of a swan.

SCOREBOARD

Football									
College Top 20s									
The top 20 teams in the Associated Press college football poll (first-place votes in parentheses; season records; total points scored on 20-19-18, etc., and last week's rankings):									
1 Penn State (49)	11-0	1,184	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2 Iowa (31)	10-1	1,082	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3 Oklahoma (21)	9-1	1,074	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4 Miami (15-1)	9-1	1,058	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5 Michigan (11)	8-1	971	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6 Wisconsin (10-1)	8-1	971	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7 Nebraska (10-1)	8-1	971	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8 Notre Dame (10-1)	8-1	971	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
9 Texas A&M (9-2)	7-2	890	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
10 Air Force (8-2)	7-2	890	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
11 Florida State (8-2)	7-2	890	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
12 Oklahoma State (7-3)	6-3	813	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
13 UCLA (6-3)	6-3	813	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
14 Arkansas (6-3)	6-3	813	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
15 Texas Tech (6-3)	6-3	813	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
16 Miami (6-3)	6-3	813	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
17 Texas (6-3)	6-3	813	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
18 Ohio State (6-3)	6-3	813	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
19 Fresno State (6-3)	6-3	813	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
20 Georgia (6-3)	6-3	813	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
National Basketball Association Leaders									
(Through games of Nov. 26)									
Points	W. L.	Reb.	Ass.	Stl.	Blk.	FT%	3P%	FG%	PPG
Richardson, N.J.	15	181	124	1	1	1	1	1	1
Robertson, S.A.	15	181	124	1	1	1	1	1	1
Thompson, D.	15	181	124	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dumars, D.	15	181	124	1	1	1	1	1	1
Leaver, D.	15	181	124	1	1	1	1	1	1
Baseball									
American League leaders of the year:									
1985 — Ozzie Guillen, Chicago	1985 — Alvin Davis, Washington	1985 — Ron Kittle, Chicago	1985 — Dave Ristetti, Baltimore	1985 — John Castiglione, Minnesota	1985 — Ed Murray, Baltimore	1985 — Mark Flanagan, Detroit	1985 — Carl Everett, Baltimore	1985 — Mike Horvath, Texas	1985 — Al Bumbry, Baltimore
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Hockey									
National Hockey League Leaders									
(Through games of Nov. 26)									
Points	Goals	Assists	Reb.	Pen.	Shots	FT%	3P%	FG%	PPG
Greetsky, Edm.	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Lemelin, P.	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Naslund, M.	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Pruse, P.	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Anderson, Edm.	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
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Transition									
BASEBALL									
American League									
TEXAS — Traded Wayne Tolleson, infielder, and Dave Schmidt, pitcher, to the Chicago White Sox for Ed Carter, pitcher, and Scott Fletcher, infielder.									
BASEBALL									
National Football League									
INDIANAPOLIS — Cut Curtis Dickler, running back, and John Elway, quarterback, from the roster.									
L.A. RAIDERS — Signed Elvis Franks, defensive end, and placed Ricky Williams, defensive back, on injured reserve.									
HOCKEY									
National Hockey League									
DETROIT — Recalled Lanny Lemire, right wing, and Claude Larabee, center, from the roster of the Chicago White Sox.									
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Skiing									
World Cup Prologue									
WOMEN'S SLALOM (at Seefeld, Italy)									
1. Vreni Schneider, Switzerland (1:11.34)	2. Erika Hess, Switzerland (1:11.34)	3. Michaela Gerg, West Germany (1:12.85)	4. Karna Zala, Yugoslavia (1:13.07)	5. Monica Aulio, Sweden (1:13.07)	6. Bianca Fernandez Ochoa, Spain (1:13.07)	7. Marie Perle, France (1:13.41)	8. Marie Perle, France (1:13.41)	9. Marie Perle, France (1:13.41)	10. Marie Perle, France (1:13.41)
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SPORTS BRIEFS

Faust Resigns as Coach of Notre Dame

CHICAGO (AP) — Gerry Faust resigned Tuesday as Notre Dame's head football coach.

Faust took over before the 1981 season, but failed to produce anticipated results; his four-year record is 30-25-1, making him the losingest coach in the school's history. Notre Dame dipped to 3-4 last year before closing with four straight victories. The Irish are 5-5 this season (the final year of Faust's five-year contract), with one game to go, Saturday at Miami.

"I want what's best for everybody," Faust said Tuesday, "but that's not possible.... They stuck with me through some very hard times."

Women's Ski Tour to Use New Format

NEW YORK (AP) — The International Ski Federation has decided that all gate races on the 1985-86 women's World Cup campaign will incorporate a "flip 30" second-run format so that no race will be decided until the last race comes down the hill.

The 30 fastest in the opening run of a slalom or giant slalom will compete in reverse order in the second. Under the old format, the first leg's top five began the second run in reverse order, the top racer being fifth out of the gate; after that, they competed in first-run order.

Quotable

Boxing promoter Don King, after being acquitted on charges of failing to pay income tax on money he allegedly skimmed from his own company: "Only in America." (AP)

Phillips Quits Saints In Shakeup

NEW

